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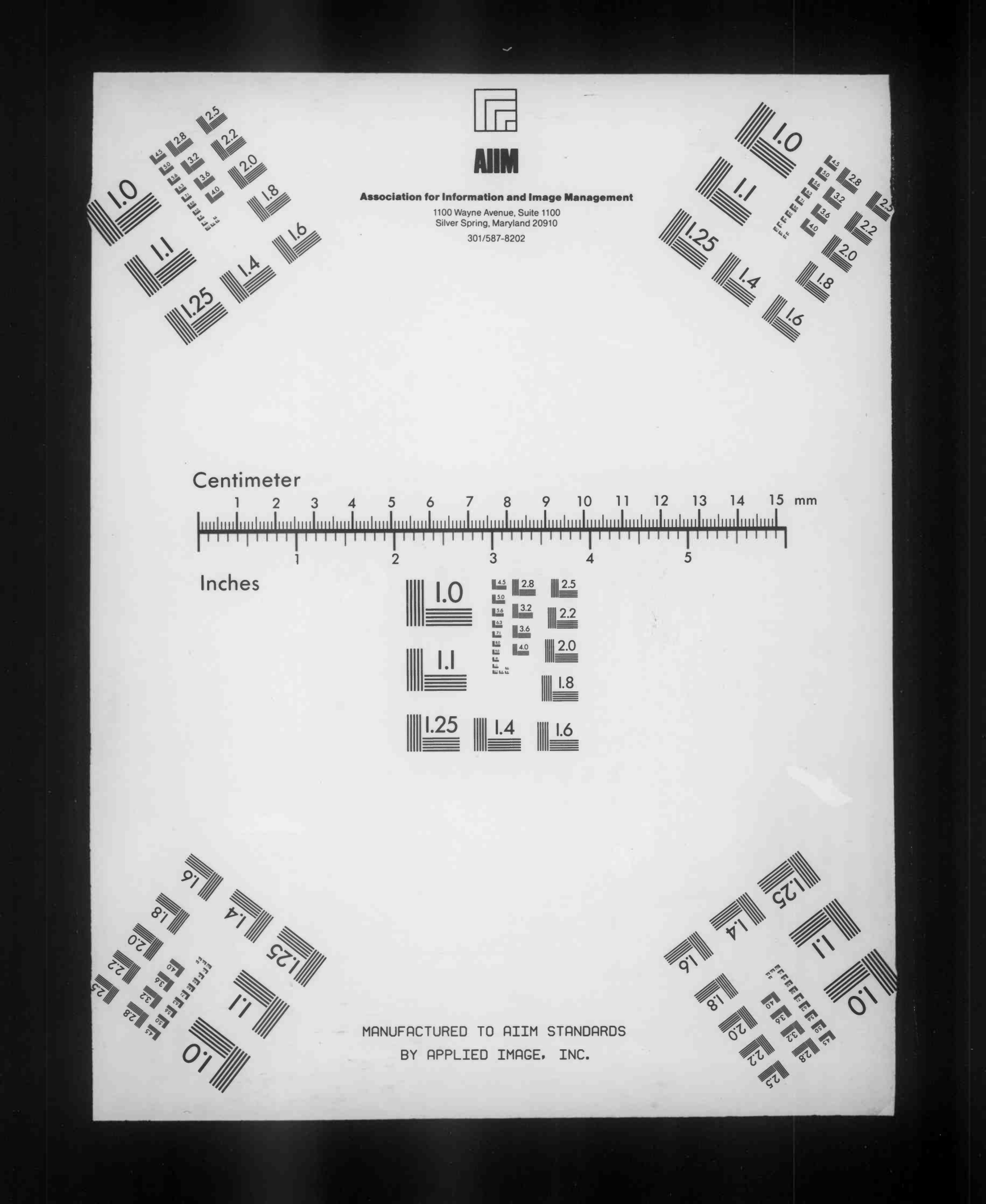
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The Pope not Infallible

A PUBLIC LECTURE

DELIVERED AT THE

GUILDHALL, CAMBRIDGE

February 24th, 1930

BY

G. G. COULTON

Litt.D., D.Litt., F.B.A.

(*Fellow of St. John's and Hon. Fellow of St. Catharine's College*)

In reply to a Public Lecture by the Revd. HUGH POPE, O.P., Doctor of Scripture, and Regent of Studies at the Dominican Convent, Oxford, and under criticism from Frs. HUGH POPE, O.P., J. B. REEVES, O.P., and F. X. EHRHART, S.J.

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PART I.

PREFACE.

Early last July, having approached Cardinal Bourne in vain to the same effect, I sent the following letter, by registered post, to the seven writers mentioned in it. Two received it in silence; all the rest refused at once; Mr Chesterton alone played with me for six months, under different excuses, and finally declined.

"I am interested to read, in religious papers of your communion, that the missionary efforts of this centenary year are awakening many people, especially in Liverpool, to amazement at their own previous ignorance of the truth about the Roman Catholic Church. It is a pity that this instruction should not be more widely spread; and it is equally regrettable, perhaps, that it should not be more directly confronted with the errors which it undertakes to dispel. At present, the situation seems slightly ridiculous. If non-Romanists have lived hitherto in such lamentable darkness, is it not that the light has been hidden too carefully under a bushel? Romanist instruction has been too often confined to the believing minority; it is admirably calculated to fortify the existing faith, but has seldom exposed itself directly to the blast of criticism. If it be replied that non-Romanist preaching has been equally onesided, this assertion may be admitted for the sake of argument, since it will only add to the absurdity of the situation: here are two parties, each equally convinced, equally concerned to convince the public, yet equally shy of the most obvious road to success. It is as though Elijah had deliberately chosen Mount Carmel, and the priests of Baal had chosen some other mountain well out of sight, in order that each might be able to proclaim his own victory to his own peculiar people.

I am therefore suggesting an orderly public discussion, to be reported verbatim and printed for the reading public, upon one or more of the main points at issue between the Roman Church and those who hitherto have found themselves unable to accept her teaching. It would be most natural, perhaps, to begin with the fundamental doctrine of *Papal Infallibility*, as defined by the Vatican Council, or *The Causes of the Reformation*. If you are willing to undertake such a discussion, there should be no difficulty in finding a Chairman who would command universal confidence, with conditions of procedure which would be fair to both parties. Certainly such a discussion would secure one enormous advantage. The disputants would have the minimum of temptation to unfair

argument, or even to exaggeration ; for any reflective person would see that such methods would only damage his cause with a thinking audience ; and, still more, with that wider public which would read the report at leisure, verifying statements of fact and balancing conflicting inferences.

I am therefore repeating this invitation to the following representative Roman Catholics—I say advisedly, *repeating*, since, by implication or directly, I have already issued similar invitations to all—Messrs G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc, the Jesuit Fathers, H. Thurston, C. C. Martindale, Leslie Walker, and F. Woodlock, and the Reverend Bernard Grimley, D.D., Ph.D., who recently held me up in the Roman Catholic *Universe*[1] as a dishonest disputant."

Fr Martindale, for whom I have personally great respect, had given, as one of his reasons for avoiding discussion, a reason which showed that he was under a false impression as to what actually goes on at Cambridge when Roman Catholics come down and hold their meetings here. He wrote : "I agree that there exists an astounding ignorance of the actual teaching of the Catholic Church ; and naturally I regret it. . . . . I conclude by assuring you that the Church has no wish to preach only to her members, nor to live in secret. Our Evidence Guild, and the lectures to which you are accustomed at Cambridge, are examples of some of the methods we judge fairly useful. The larger the audience at these, and the more sensible the questions, the better we are pleased." To that I was compelled to reply : "Cambridge is no more 'accustomed' to those lectures than she is to Christian Science and other similar lectures. Serious people outside your communion don't go, because they know that all pretence of accurate discussion is a farce . . . . One of your most distinguished theologians was lecturing here on the Inquisition, and I was invited to attend. I found that he was himself both lecturer and chairman in the discussion. When, in the debate which followed the lecture, I pressed him for more direct replies, your Roman Catholic friends showed their impatience very loudly. I finally put this question to him : 'St Thomas Aquinas, starting from certain premises, proves to his own satisfaction, and to that of many succeeding Catholic centuries, that it is part of a Christian's duty to burn nonconformist fellow-Christians. Are you prepared to find any fault in his premises? or, again, in his logical method ?' At this point, your distinguished friend used his privilege as chairman, declared the discussion at an end, and was therefore excused as lecturer from replying."

[1] This was a slip ; it was in *The Catholic Times*.

To this Fr Martindale replied : "I cannot doubt but that the lecturer had made quite clear (explicitly or implicitly) the principles underlying the Catholic view as to the suppression of heresy, principles no doubt very well stated by St Thomas, though I have not spent any time in studying their history ; so that I expect that the answer to your by no means original (in fact very elementary) question had already several times been given in the course of the lecture itself." Now I, as the person actually concerned, had every reason to know that Fr Martindale's surmise—admittedly a mere surmise—was in this case quite incorrect ; but I was determined to make another trial. I went, therefore, to the Dominican Fr Pope's lecture on "The Meaning and Necessity of Infallibility—Questions Invited." Here, there was not even that measure of freedom which I had found in the earlier case, under a lecturer for whom I have the same personal respect as for Fr Martindale. My reader will soon find, from the stenographic report here following, what was really meant by that seductive advertisement : "Questions Invited." Moreover, what seemed so strange to me has been since defended to me in writing by another distinguished Roman Catholic whose name I only refrain from giving here because I have no wish to extend the controversy. He writes : "When priests of Christ's Church give lectures such as these, they are carrying out Christ's commission to his Apostles to teach. They are prepared to answer questions for the purpose of elucidating Catholic doctrine for those who wish to learn it, but they do not propose to discuss their doctrines as matters open to divergent views any more than Saints Peter and Paul were.[1] Therefore there is no more call for a chairman than in your own University lecture room." One can perfectly understand this from his point of view ; but, under this sort of policy, how are any, except the most insignificant fraction of non-Romanists, ever to emerge from the "astounding ignorance" of which Fr Martindale complains ? Can any reasonable person be astounded, must he not rather take it as natural, if this attitude perpetuates ancient misunderstandings, and tends to deepen the gulf between Romanist and non-Romanist ? As a German Romanist wrote in 1907, "in the full light of modern life, the Ghetto is rebuilt, and the Catholics are shut

[1] It is interesting to compare this with Acts xix. 8-10 (Douai version). "And entering into the synagogue, he [Paul] spake boldly for the space of three months, *disputing* and exhorting concerning the Kingdom of God. But when some were hardened and believed not, speaking evil of the way of the Lord before the multitude, departing from them, he separated the disciples, *disputing* daily in the school of one Tyrannus. And this continued for the space of two years."

up in it. . . . Catholics themselves render themselves incapable of exercising any serious influence upon their age. Science goes on without them ; progress in social life is realised without them ; they have become useless members of civilized society."[1] The words are exaggerated, in the bitterness of a soul suffering from artificial restrictions ; but they contain a lamentable truth which, with equal exaggeration but from another point of view, has been recently enunciated by Mr Belloc. (*The Listener*, Nov. 27, 1929). After emphasizing the "really astonishing ignorance of its character and habits in the minds of onlookers," he goes on : "There cannot but be an atmosphere created in which, in the long run, either Catholicism will not be able to live, or its opponents will not be able to live." Without exactly anticipating the Armageddon here described, we may yet feel that there is some real danger of that conflict which has raged for more than a century in Roman Catholic States, and from which Britain has, hitherto, been comparatively immune. Our national habits of free and fair discussion, and the spirit of give-and-take which such habits breed, have saved us hitherto from that painful necessity of choosing, as commonly in the Latin countries, between Clericalism and anti-Clericalism. It was noted in the Cambridge papers that, on this 24th of February, we managed to discuss for three hours, in a very large and mixed assembly, one of the thorniest possible subjects, and yet to part, with few exceptions, in a friendlier spirit than that in which we had entered the hall.

Here, then, is the stenographic report of my lecture :

The reporter was sent down by Messrs T. A. Reed & Co., of 37, Cursitor Street. I have corrected the grammar here and there, or added words to make my meaning clearer ; but the only addition of any importance is on p. 15, where I have enclosed in square brackets one section which, misreading my notes, I forgot to deliver in the Guildhall. The stenographer, to whom I submitted these alterations, testifies as follows : "I have looked through the alterations made, and I give you my assurance that they do nothing to give a false impression for controversial purposes."

[1] *Allgemeine Rundschau*, 24 Aug., 1907, quoted in M. Pernot, *La Politique de Pie X.*, 1910, p. 144.

Dr G. G. Coulton delivered a lecture on "Infallibility" at the Guildhall, Cambridge, on Monday evening, February 24th, 1930.

Professor F. C. Burkitt presided.

The CHAIRMAN : Full opportunity is going to be given for discussion, and if any people wish to ask questions we should be much obliged if they would come right up to the front. One offence I have never committed : I have never made "a few remarks" (laughter). I have been a chairman, and I have as quickly as possible called upon the principal speaker. I now call upon Dr Coulton to speak upon "The Infallibility of the Pope".

Dr G. G. COULTON : Professor Burkitt, ladies and gentlemen, I shall feel obliged this evening to expose very plainly what seem to me certain clear untruths (here a certain number of the audience applauded). But might I ask, whether it is a question of approval or disapproval, that you will not interrupt, but judge me as I answer the questions more than by what I say in the lecture ? I want to expose what seem to me untruths ; but I should be extremely sorry to mislead my audience as to what seem to me the truths which underlie these untruths. Nobody can deny that the Roman Catholic Church is a great institution, with great ramifications for good in various directions, and that it satisfies a large number of people, who have perfect freedom within its limits. If a man says, "The creed of the Roman Catholic Church seems to me the most satisfactory explanation of the universe ; and its sacraments and worship bring me nearer to God than anything else", he is in an impregnable position. It is only when they go on to deny to others that access to God which they claim for themselves that we have a right to criticise them, and we have not only the right but the duty to criticise them, for their own sakes as well as for ours.

I shall try to avoid, therefore, this evening the theological and philosophical aspects of my subject as much as possible. I shall try to confine myself to the historical facts, which to my mind are unquestionable.

But first of all let me be perfectly certain that everybody here understands the definition of the Vatican Council, which I am criticising. "The Roman Pontiff," so runs the definition, "when he speaks *ex cathedra*—that is, when in discharge of the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, by virtue of

his supreme Apostolic Authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, by the divine assistance promised to him in Blessed Peter—is possessed of that Infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith and morals. And that, therefore, such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves and not from the consent of the Church."

Ten days ago there was a lecture advertised as "The Church's Claims—The Meaning and Necessity of Infallibility," and questions were invited. I took advantage of that invitation. I will read to you the shorthand report of what happened :

Dr G. G. COULTON : "If Papal Infallibility was revealed by God, as Fr Pope has just told us, and if it is a truly Catholic doctrine—that is, if in any real sense whatever it may be said to have been held 'Everywhere, always, and by all' (the ordinary definition of Catholicism), how then does Fr Pope account for the fact that even in my lifetime four Catholic bishops in this country were committed to the contrary opinion ; and that two of these were Vicars Apostolic, vicars with special powers from Rome ; and that at the same time the most learned Catholics in France and in Germany were either definitely opposed to the Infallibility dogma, or at least fought hard against its promulgation in 1870 as inopportune ? "

Fr POPE : "If the Infallibility has really been taught '*Quod semper, quod ubique, et quod ab omnibus*,' he asks how is it then that these two Vicars Apostolic denied it about 1860, and others in France and other places in 1870 were violently opposed. The answer surely is simplicity itself. The reason why was, that they did *not* deny it. What they said was, 'We don't hold it,' a very different thing. (Laughter).* It sounds like a diabolical evasion ; it isn't. No one could hold it then as being *de fide*, because there was no infallible pronouncement that it had been revealed. You cannot state of those two men " [that is, the two Vicars Apostolic] " You have said the Pope is not infallible.' Cardinal Newman and Bishop Clifford—why were they opposed ? They were not opposed to the doctrine, but to the pronouncement of defining it then."

Dr COULTON : "You have unconsciously said the thing that is not." (Fr. Pope : "Yes ? "). "The Vicars Apostolic committed themselves in Keenan's Catechism, a work in its 17th thousand and published with the approval of four bishops,

* Here I explained to the audience that this word "laughter" was an interpolation of the previous reporter. (G. G. C.)

two of whom were Vicars Apostolic. Here is the question and answer :

'Q. Must not Catholics believe the Pope in himself to be infallible ?

'A. This is a Protestant invention ; it is no article of the Catholic faith. No decision of his can oblige under pain of heresy, unless it be received and enforced by the teaching body, that is, by the bishops of the Church.' "

Fr. POPE : "Perfectly true. That is a famous quotation, as well as anything from Keenan's Catechism. That answer has been censured over and over again by the Catholic Episcopacy as very badly framed, and it was not an article of the Catholic Faith binding on conscience."

Dr COULTON : "That is not the question . . . "

At this point there were so many interruptions that the shorthand reporter was not able to get it down exactly. I drew up my own account of the affair and submitted it to the Principal of Westminster College and the Master of Selwyn College, who approved it as being as exact an account as possible of what occurred. It reads :

Dr COULTON : "That is not the question. Let me read .... Fr Pope here interrupted him, saying that he had listened enough, and wished now to hear other questioners at the back of the hall. Dr Coulton protested, begging leave to read only four lines from a Roman Catholic bishop. Fr Pope persisted in his refusal ; by this time there were noisy interruptions throughout the hall, and Dr Coulton sat down under protest. After one or two other questions had been asked and answered, Dr Coulton rose again to read. He was again silenced, but remained standing. Fr Pope presently bade him sit down. He explained that he was waiting for his turn to come again. Fr Pope answered peremptorily, 'You disturb me by standing, sir ; sit down ! ' and Dr Coulton again obeyed under protest."

Now, then, ladies and gentlemen, I have to read to you the words which I was not allowed to read ten days ago. That quotation of four lines is from the Roman Catholic bishop, Dr Baines, in 1822, in my father's lifetime. Dr Baines was not only one of the ablest and most pious of the time ; he died a Benedictine monk, and Downside Abbey deems itself proud to possess his bones. In 1822, then, Bishop Baines writes : "Bellarmine and some other divines, chiefly Italians, have believed the Pope infallible, when proposing *ex cathedra* an article of faith. But in England or Ireland I do not believe that any Catholic maintains the Infallibility of the Pope."[1]

[1] Sparrow-Simpson, p. 101.

Those were the four lines I was not allowed to read. You will find, again, that the Archbishop of Lyons (so far as I remember, in 1787), actually put similar words in the instructions to those who were being taught in his seminary,[1] and in that he relied on what I shall come to later on, the great theologian Bossuet.

In 1788, shortly before Dr Baines had made that pronouncement, a committee of English Romanists was formed to appeal to Parliament and get the Roman Catholic Disabilities removed. In their appeal they said, in so many words, "We acknowledge no infallibility in the Pope." I could go back, pointing out that at a slightly earlier date Sir John Throgmorton, one of the most prominent Roman Catholic laymen, spoke of two divisions in England on that subject, some who believed in it and some who did not, and he implied that the majority did not and that it was necessary to get rid of those who did. Those, then, are the passages, in brief, which I was not allowed to read the other evening ; and you will see how entirely they justify what I say, that Fr Pope was saying, unconsciously, *the thing that is not.*

Archbishop Kenrick, Archbishop of St Louis, tells us how, when he was studying at Maynooth in Ireland, the director of studies set once as a thing to be discussed, "The Pope, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, is infallible." This was in 1831. Kenrick tells us how, in rather a spirit of opposition, he took the affirmative, and he implies that this view, which was unknown in the college, did not please the authorities of Maynooth.[2] You will see that the point at issue between Fr Pope and myself was this, that he insisted that all these pronouncements amounted to this—that the pronouncement of Infallibility was regarded as "inopportune" at that moment ; and I insisted that there was something more, and that they absolutely declined to accept papal Infallibility. That is entirely borne out by Mgr. Bernard Ward, Principal of St Edmund's College, Ware, in his History, which he calls the "Dawn of the Catholic Revival." Referring to this protestation, *We acknowledge no Infallibility in the Pope*, he says, "In this Protestation the doctrine of Papal Infallibility is repudiated in strong and almost offensive terms." Not only does it say *It is no article of faith*, as the oath says—the oath which every Roman Catholic priest was willing to take at the

[1] Sparrow-Simpson, p. 97. The exact date was 1794, the difference has some importance, since the French Revolution had broken out in 1789.

[2] J. Friedrich. *Documenta ad ill. Concil. Vaticanum*, 1871. Vol. I. p. 218.

time—not only does it say, in order to get emancipation, *It is no article of faith*—and as the catechism of Keenan in the beginning part says—but it also goes on to say what the latter part of that catechism says in so many words. "It is something," writes Bernard Ward, "further to protest, *We acknowledge no Infallibility in the Pope.*"

Then, again, at the Vatican Council itself. A certain number of English bishops took exactly that view of the protestation which I have just quoted. As Lord Acton writes : "Several English Bishops protested [formally to the Pope, in writing, at the Council] that the denial of Infallibility by the Catholic Episcopate had been an essential condition of [Catholic] Emancipation [in Britain], and that they could not revoke that assurance after it had served their purpose, without being dishonoured in the eyes of their countrymen." Then, again, another protest in writing was sent up to the Pope during the Vatican Council by that minority of bishops who objected to the decree. "They declared" (I am quoting again Lord Acton's words) "[the doctrine of Infallibility] an absurd contradiction, founded on ignoble deceit, and incapable of being made an article of faith by Pope or Council."

Now, it seems to me that this ought to be sufficient to prove the untruth of the plea that it was merely a question of opportunism with these Roman Catholics. Indeed, it is a notorious fact, as is brought out very clearly in Bernard Ward's book, that the majority of the English Roman Catholics before 1870 were what is called Cisalpines, in direct opposition to the Ultramontanes, who were for the Infallibility decree. But let us take them at their own words ; accept it as merely a question of opportunism. What does it come to? How can it be inopportune to declare a "necessary and revealed truth"—and that is the whole point of Fr Pope's lecture,—a truth which had been revealed from the first? How could it be inopportune to proclaim that, eighteen-hundred-and-forty years after the Crucifixion? If more than fifty generations of men had passed without that proclamation, and it was still "inopportune" to tell them they had an infallible leader, how many more generations should pass before they should recognise that they were so fortunate? (laughter).

That brings me, then, to my second division. Why was it that the large majority of the English Roman Catholics, and the more learned ones, were anti-Infallibists before 1870? The fact is, that the idea was a comparatively modern growth. The word itself is comparatively modern. I do not think it is in any of the early dictionaries. "*Ex cathedra*" itself is

a still more modern phrase ; it dates from the 17th century. If either of those ideas had existed in the Middle Ages, and had been put into clear words, the whole course of Christianity would have been different. How different Christian History would have been ! Practically all the quarrels and disputes would have been avoided. There were quarrels as to the primacy of St Peter. Not one of the early Popes says, "I am infallible ; no one else can dispute it." In 250 A.D., there is the case of St Cyprian : the whole of Christianity was rent by a quarrel as to the validity of heretical baptism. For a hundred-and-fifty years that quarrel went on. It is true, a Pope gave his opinion ; but St Cyprian told him he knew no theology and had better hold his tongue ; though it is true that he speaks highly in another place of the Pope's authority. But we know that St Augustine finally gave such reasons that people accepted the doctrine. It was accepted as people accept the result of a debate in Parliament. Again there was the Arian question, which split Christianity again ; and there were the Monothelites in the seventh century ; and the Iconoclastic heresy in the eighth century, a quarrel which actually amounted to civil war. And, again, the question of Transubstantiation was debated for at least four centuries before there was an infallible decision ; and it has been disputed whether the decision pronounced upon it in 1215 was an *ex cathedra* decision. Then there was the question of the Immaculate Conception, and the dispute lasted for seven hundred years. It began about the year 1100, and at the University of Paris it almost created civil war. The first important pronouncement was given after 300 years, when the Pope said nobody must discuss it any more. When it came up again, at the Council of Trent, which was to reorganise all Christendom, all discussion had been shelved by the publishing of that decree of Sixtus IV in 1483 ; and it remained a bone of contention. It was referred to Rome, and Rome renewed the brief of Sixtus IV for fear of schism. Then there was an extremely important controversy on the question of Grace, very much the question of the controversy which divided the Calvinists and the Arminians in the Protestant Church. There were Calvinists and Arminians in the Roman Catholic Church in the seventeenth century. The Pope appointed a commission, and it never decided ; and Bellarmine has told us quite plainly how he bullied the Pope. The Pope said, "I will decide it myself", but Bellarmine said, "You will do no such thing", and that he did not know enough theology to do it. And the Pope did not do it.

Finally, there is the question of the *Syllabus Errorum*, in

which it is condemned, as a damnable error, to say : "The Roman Pontiff may, and ought to, reconcile himself and come to terms with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization. (Laughter). That is, if you assert the proposition that the Pope must come to terms with modern civilization, it is something very near to mortal sin ! That was in 1864. The Pope lived fourteen years longer, and the people were debating under his nose whether the Syllabus was infallible or not ; but the infallible Pope never told them, and it is debatable to this day.

So far the negative evidence. Now let me deal with the positive evidence against Infallibility. There was the Monothelite controversy, about 635. Honorius I. wrote to Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, letters which in their plain sense condemned the orthodox doctrine about the two wills in Christ, and on the other hand committed him to the unorthodox doctrine. He was committed on both those sides. In 680, the Sixth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople anathematised him, with Sergius and other Monothelites, the Papal legates assenting and Leo II. confirming. Baronius and Bellarmine, two of the greatest controversialists, were so alarmed that they asserted that the acts were forged. But nobody says that now. For centuries, every new Pope on his election had to swear the following formula, among others, that he agreed with the Council of 680 in condemning a long list of heretics, and, in the middle of the list, Honorius, "who *gave fuel* (or *food*, *fomentum impendit*) to the evil assertions of these heretics." That formula was dropped in the later Middle Ages ; so also, after the Reformation, the Roman Church dropped from the Breviary (a service-book which every priest has to read) the assertion that Honorius had been condemned as a heretic. In 1650 that *Liber Diurnus* [in which the Pope's oath is recorded], was discovered by the great scholar Luke Holstein, who began to print an edition of this valuable book. Cardinal Bona [in his office as member of the Commissions for the Index and the Inquisition] confiscated the printed sheets and (as de Launoy said) "put them into prison," *i.e.* in a cupboard, "in the Vatican." It was complained by that great scholar de Launoy that by that kind of thing they were making themselves a laughing-stock to people outside the Church ; but there the book remained. Cardinal Bona gave as his reason : "If these words are really in the original"—and they are ; it has been proved—"and if the notes do not show *how this wound can be healed*, it is better not to publish the work." But it is now printed and published, and the wounds are unhealed still. The Catholic scholar Rozière, in 1869, took this

book as undeniable proof that "the fallibility of the Pope, and the competence of an Ecumenical Council to judge his errors" are two conclusions "from which it is vain to attempt an escape"; and he points out in another place that this document was composed at Rome by the Archivists of the Holy See; so that there can be no question about not only what the enemy thought about the Popes, but what Rome itself thought about the Popes at that time.

I am taking only the most salient and positive proofs in history against it. There was a Council at Constance, probably the most learned and pious gathering of men brought together since the Lateran Council of 1215. They almost unanimously decreed that a General Council is superior to a Pope, and may judge the Pope. The greatest churchman probably of the whole fifteenth century, Jean Gerson, was most particular in speaking against the Infallibility of the Pope as apart from the General Council. In 1682 the most learned clergy were the French clergy. They solemnly declared in 1682, "That the decrees and judgments of the Popes are not irreformable unless the consent of the Church has been added."

Then, Bossuet, whose book against Protestantism is still a classic in France. He drew up two volumes, and in a thousand pages wrote a learned disproof of the Infallibility of the Popes which has never been seriously answered.

In Germany the best scholars were of the same opinion; their movement was called Febronianism. The Church in France remained mainly Gallican until the Revolution; and, as the Irish clergy were recruited from France, the Irish church was also mainly Gallican, and the Irish clergy also made pronouncements against the Infallibility of the Pope.

I come to my third point. If the verdict was so plain, that before 1870 it could be so frankly confessed there could be no Infallibility in the Pope, how was it possible for the Pope to get Infallibility accorded to him in 1870? First of all, there was the French Revolution. That caused, of course, an enormous conservative reaction. The French clergy asked themselves, "What have we suffered for, since the Revolution? Is it perhaps the punishment of our sins? Have we been disobedient; and is this the punishment for our disobedience?" and therefore there was a greater and greater drift away from Gallicanism in France. Then, again, there was the natural reaction everywhere which comes with a revolution. There was the kind of thing which drove Newman to Rome. Those who read his Apologia, one of the finest works in the English language, may see through the lines everywhere that he saw the gulf of liberalism yawning on every side, and he saw no

resource but to go over to Rome. And again, the fear of liberalism, and what had happened in the French Revolution, urged on the Church in the same course lest they should go further in the other direction.

The main threads are, first, the religious thread. The lower clergy and the female devotees were all strongly in favour of Infallibility, especially in the Latin countries. It is the cheapest way of answering all objections, and of being sure of yourself. The higher clergy were still more or less Gallican. The Pope sympathised entirely with the lower clergy. He was not a theologian; nobody ever pretended to say he was. His first hope had been to get into the Papal army, but an epileptic fit showed him his impossibility for the army. It ought to have been a similar bar to the priesthood, but a dispensation was given; and a dispensation, it was asserted, and I believe truly, had to be given on the matter of learning, in order to get him through the priesthood. However, he was a kind-hearted man, a man who really wished to do good to his people, as he understood doing good. Beginning as a Liberal, he had been driven into reaction by the Revolution of 1848, and from that time forward his main object was, in alliance with the people, to react against revolution. That is one of the strongest things in history; if a despot can ally himself and make common cause with the people, in anything which they and he believe in common, then he is irresistible. [So there you have the political thread. And here, as often, religious politics and worldly politics worked in concert. One of the most active agents for Infallibility, who had constant private meetings with Manning and supplied him with the most important secret information, was Odo Russell, who for 12 years had been the British diplomatic resident at the Vatican. Russell, though his mother was a Romanist, was no Romanist himself; but he believed in the Infallibility Decree as a purely political move, "and declared to his colleagues, the ambassadors or ministers assembled at Rome, as well as to Archbishop Manning, that 'its definition by the Council is necessary to the very existence of the Pope's future authority' .... his weekly reports to Manning tell all about the doings of the Council." It was Russell who held Lord Clarendon back from committing Britain to that common action against the Pope and the Council which was suggested by Roman Catholic Bavaria, and which, if Britain had accepted the Bavarian invitation, would almost certainly have been backed up by France, Prussia, Austria and Belgium, and have so strengthened the hands of the Opposition as to wreck the proposed Decree. Russell's conviction was, that the rejection

of the Decree would result in a movement of decentralization and in the creation of National Churches.[1] In other words, he viewed it as Disraeli viewed the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India.]

The Pope, therefore, was supported by the multitude; and then came the Council, of which you will find the full story in one of Lord Acton's essays, in the volume called *History of Freedom*. I need not point out that Lord Acton was a Roman Catholic. He said towards the end of his life that his religion was dearer to him than his life; and that was after 1870. He was the most learned historian we have ever had at any University in the United Kingdom. You will find that the brief account I am going to give you, if you look it up in Acton, is if anything tempered down from his plain language; and he was in Rome at the time.

The Pope was urged on partly by the Jesuits, partly by the journalists, and also by men like Manning in England. Kenrick, in his speech before the Council, spoke sarcastically of Manning; he pointed out that Manning, who had been a Protestant, seemed to know more about Infallibility than he did, though *he* had been born a Roman Catholic and had studied in Maynooth. Bishop Ullathorne was even more sarcastic about Manning. Ullathorne was a Yorkshireman, and though he never put in a wrong "h" he often left one out. "I taught the faith," he said, "with my mitre on my 'ed when you were a 'eretic." Manning was chivalrous; but he was, at this moment at any rate, a man of one idea; and often before that he had repudiated the verdict of history. He said, and repeated it after criticism: "The appeal to History against the voice of the Church is a treason and a heresy"; and men like him pressed for the Infallibility definition.[2] Newman strongly objected to

[1] Full details may be found in Purcell's *Life of Manning*, 1st ed., Vol. II., pp. 432—455, and Acton's *History of Freedom*, p. 503.

[2] *Daily Telegraph*, Oct. 8, 1875; cf. his succeeding letter dated Oct. 15. Purcell unconsciously supplies an admirable example of Manning's imperviousness to historical evidence (Vol. II., p. 454). Dupanloup, Bishop of Orléans, a far better scholar than Manning, "came up to me [in the lobby of the Council] in a formal and towering way, and drew a letter out of his breast pocket, and presented it to me. It was from Fr O'Farrell imploring me to read the *Defensio Cleri Gallicani* of Bossuet. What was the good man made of?" The good man Dupanloup was made of stuff which knew that Bossuet was a scholar and theologian not to be named in the same breath with Manning, and that Bossuet, in a book of enormous learning, had supplied the French clergy with such historical arguments against Infallibility as, I believe, nobody has ever dared to meet formally in detail. Manning's ignorance of Bossuet was what the medieval theologians call *ignorantia affectata*; the ignorance which does not desire to be undeceived.

it, and the abler men too; and it was Manning and others who were pressing for it; men whom Newman referred to, in a private letter which Newman himself did not wish ever to be published, as "an insolent and aggressive faction."

The representation at the Vatican Council was worse than the representation in the English Parliament before the Reform Bill of 1832. Three anti-Infallibist bishops represented three to five millions of Catholics, whereas in the Papal States (with only one-seventh of the population, only one in a hundred being able to read), there were 62 bishops; in other words, 144 times the representation of Northern France and Southern Belgium, the most educated part of Roman Catholicism. Then, 300 of these prelates were bishops *in partibus*, who had not a penny to spend but what the Pope gave them. Long before the vote was taken, the Pope knew by private information that he could control 550 votes out of the 750. The hall in which they began the debate was almost impossible for sound; and many of the bishops at the first debate refused to vote because they did not hear; they said "*Non intelleximus*." A great number did not understand Latin, as spoken by men in other lands; and many did not speak it quite so fluently as they might have done. Cardinal Guibert begged leave to speak in French. The chairmanship was grossly partisan. Strossmayer was howled down on one occasion.[1] One of the minority bishops said that the majority "disported themselves like a herd of cattle." The testimonies which were brought before the Council were forged or garbled, or were without context. Archbishop Kenrick repudiated even the New Testament evidence, and Gratry, perhaps the greatest of the Frenchmen of that time, quoted from Job, "Hath God any need of your lie?" Döllinger was not summoned to the Council, and he wrote a book against Infallibility, under the pseudonym of "Janus." Hefele, the most learned Roman Catholic historian, even during the Council printed a still stronger pamphlet than he had written before, proving that Honorius had taught heresy.

But it was no good. The vote was carried by a majority, a thing which had never been done before at any Œcumenical Council. One hundred and thirty-seven bishops had protested at the beginning of the Council against any

[1] Mermillod, one of those bishops *in partibus* who were totally dependent upon the Pope, went about saying that Strossmayer had confessed to him his pleasant surprise to find the Council meetings so orderly and so fair. Strossmayer replied by asserting publicly that he had scarcely ever addressed a single word to Mermillod even in public, and never in private. Yet Manning, deceived by Mermillod's bold assertion, sent it to *The Tablet*, and it is still repeated by apologists.

declaration of Infallibility, although only 88 of them held firm, and even of these 88 only 17 remained to vote against, the rest leaving behind them a protest that this was no real Council. The dissenting minority then left under protest; and most of them based this on the plea quoted by Fr Pope ten days ago, that they only thought it "inopportune."

Now, to the after-history of the Council. What happened to those 137 men? Take Archbishop Kenrick of St Louis. If you look at his biography in the "Catholic Encyclopaedia," you will find testimony to his conspicuous sanctity, his learning, his success in the conversion of heretics, and his hard work for education; moreover, the progress made by the Church in the Province under his rule is described as "stupendous." I have already quoted his experiences in Maynooth. Archbishop Kenrick said in his earlier speech in the Council, "I dare to affirm that the opinion [of Papal Infallibility] as expressed in the Schema is not a doctrine of the Faith, nor can it become such by any definition, even of a Council." And yet he finally accepted it under protest, "because the episcopate had accepted it"—practically he would have had to leave his archbishopric if he had not accepted it—but he added that he never would retract the historical reasons against it, and said, "I shall leave others to explain its compatibility with the facts of ecclesiastical history."

Hefele was another case. He said at the Council that the theory of Papal Infallibility seemed to him founded neither in Scripture nor in history. He published during the Council a further and stronger edition of the pamphlet against Honorius. He remained to vote against it with the sixteen others, and when he went back to his diocese he refused to publish the decree, in spite of Papal insistence. Months after the Council, he wrote to his old master, Döllinger: "As to recognising for Divine Revelation a thing which is essentially untrue, let those do that who can; as for me, *non possum*." He wrote that at a time when everybody round him was giving way. Again he wrote: "I cannot conceal from myself [here in my bishopric], any more than in Rome, that the new dogma has no really veracious foundation in Scripture or tradition . . . I shall not publish the new dogma in my diocese; and, as a matter of fact, only a few of the clergy are teaching Infallibilism. By far the greater number ignore the new dogma, and the people (with very few exceptions, especially among the nobility) do not trouble themselves at all about it." He then quoted another bishop, the Bishop of St. Gall, who took the same view. Yet finally he gave way. When the Pope had with-

drawn all his faculties from him, and he must face the rebellion of all in his diocese or resign, he broke down and published it as the rest had done.

What is the historical significance of that decree? Far less, I think, than either party imagined at the time. You will find the one party, those who were against it, especially the inopportunists, said: "it will be a millstone round our neck, and nobody will ever believe, and it will be more and more difficult to convert them to the Church." On the other hand you will find that there have been very considerable attempts everywhere to minimize the importance of it, and that those who have gone farthest have, I believe, never named more than eight cases in which the Pope has spoken infallibly in the whole of the eighteen centuries, which I think you will find by arithmetic amounts to one in 225 years. You will find in Ward's Life of Newman that W. G. Ward said once, "I should like to see a new Papal Bull every morning with my *Times* at breakfast." It was a kind of jest, and it was an exaggeration, but there was some truth in it, and it is worth while asking ourselves, in the light of history, how long Ward would have had to wait. Ward would be now 118 years old, and if he wanted to see a Papal decree with his *Times* in the morning we should have to say, "If you wait 107 years more you will get one. That is about when it will be due." (laughter).

Then, as I say, I have tried to present nothing but the historical side; I have tried to keep as far as I could from the theological and philosophical sides. But it did seem to me absolutely necessary to do what is fortunately seldom done in Cambridge; to give what the French call a "contradictory lecture". For some time past I have tried to get an orderly, reasonable discussion under such a Chairman as we have this evening. When the present Abbot of Downside wrote saying that the book of "Janus" was "unscrupulous, unfair, untruthful," I asked him what book I could read to show the inaccuracy and mendacity of "Janus". All I could get was, "I am sorry you do not share the opinion I formed many years ago as to the value of 'Janus'". All this past year we have been told that one of our great troubles lies in our "extraordinary ignorance" of the subject. Would it not be extraordinary, on the contrary, if we knew anything about it, when they refuse to answer us? I appealed to Cardinal Bourne: would he not lend himself to an orderly discussion on this subject? His answer was a curt *Non possumus*. Then I wrote to the seven most prominent—I may say most aggressive—leaders on the other side whom I could pick out.

Every one has refused. In these circumstances it is extremely important that the matter should be threshed out.

And now for my last few words. As I am particularly anxious to express myself exactly I will, with your permission, read them. Let me end as I began. This evening I have tried to put before you only historical facts. If I am right, serious misrepresentations were put before the Cambridge public by the Dominican lecturer of ten days ago. If not, I am open here to full cross-examination. Personally—I do not know if I can answer for Professor Burkitt,—but personally, if it goes on to midnight I am ready to stay here. (Applause.)[1] All misrepresentations are mischievous in direct proportion to the personal respectability of the speaker and his belief in the justice of his own cause. Few people have the means of seriously checking intricate historical arguments; and the ordinary candid listener naturally believes that a man sent down here as a specialist, speaking so confidently, and ruling out with such absolute certainty the evidence which others try to offer against him, must be right in the main.

In the main, God only knows who is more in the right, of the Romanist or the non-Romanist; meanwhile, we non-Romanists are as convinced of our sincerity as they can be of theirs. But, on both sides, it is absolutely imperative that the dross should be separated from the gold. Those who insist upon this doctrine of Infallibility as absolute, and as proving a clear superiority for Romanist over non-Romanist faith, must be prepared to have that doctrine closely scrutinized in the light of unquestionable facts. If professional Romanist advocates on this subject are as patently wrong as they seem to some of us—and if the most aggressive of them would rather see judgment go by default than risk themselves under cross-examination,—then those who point this out are, in the long run, friends to real Catholicism. The dross must be separable from the gold; and, if separable, then it must be separated. The longer the hierarchy insists upon the inseparable nature of the two elements—the longer it is insisted that a Catholic cannot be true with his God unless he believes what, for centuries, great and exceedingly learned Catholics actively disbelieved and fought against—the longer this goes on, the heavier is the debt which is being heaped up on the wrong side; and the more we may be certain that, some day, those who are responsible for this, and the Institution in whose supposed interests they work, will have to render a strict and solemn account. (Applause).

[1] The questions lasted in fact for 2 hours; from 9.30 till after 11.30.

The lecture was followed by a discussion of two hours, in which a prominent part was taken by Fr POPE himself, by Fr J. B. REEVES, and by Fr F. X. EHRHART, S.J. The questioners were, almost without exception, Roman Catholics; and I believe I am right in saying that nobody was prevented from speaking, except on one occasion when Fr Pope, intentionally or unintentionally, interrupted Fr Ehrhart. The full stenographic report, in so far as the reporter could catch the words, will be published, with a good deal of other matter, in my fuller sixpenny pamphlet, *Is the Pope Infallible?* Meanwhile, however, it is necessary to add a few words about this debate of two hours.

First Professor BURKITT was able to sum up without contradiction, and amid general applause: "I do not wish to stop anyone asking questions even now, but it is past 11.30. Are there any more questions? I do not know that it would be fitting to close with a prayer, because we are not of one mind; but let us at least thank God that we have been able to sit these long hours and dispute on important matters on which we hold differing but sincere and strong views, and that we are able to part good friends and without quarrel. I say, let us thank God for it." The *Catholic Times* of March 7 bears testimony to the fact that "the proceedings, which lasted three hours, were marked by a spirit of friendliness on both sides".

That is already much, but it brings me to my second point: the absolute necessity of plain speech on matters where either side has serious reason to believe that the other, however unwittingly, is seriously misleading the public. I belong to a very small discussion society here at Cambridge, which has only one rule of debate, of which we are reminded every term: "Everybody may say whatever he likes to anybody else, provided that he really means it." Under that rule, nobody ever loses his temper, and we are able to get very different cross-lights on the highly debatable questions that we often discuss; especially when the speakers are of different nationalities or creeds. I feel no hesitation, therefore, in following that rule here.

Fr Pope was given ample opportunities not only for asking questions but for actually lecturing to us. My own contributions to the whole debate amount to a few lines less than those of the different questioners. Moreover, I would willingly have made far greater concessions to Fr Pope, if thus I could have come to real grips with him on certain

disputed facts, where the Guildhall audience had nothing to go upon but his assertions and mine. This will come out far more clearly in the stenographic report of the debate, which will appear in my sixpenny pamphlet. Here and there, the reporter has naturally failed to catch rapid interchanges ; but his typescript enables the reader to judge fairly of what actually happened.

It seemed possible, however, that Fr Pope might change his mind ; therefore I approached him through one of his own party. I asked that friendly intermediary to remind him of St Thomas's argument (*Sum. Theol.* 2^a 2^{ae} quaest X. art. 7) where the saint insists on the necessity of discussing the Faith with non-Roman Catholics, provided only that such non-believers are many in the land, and that the orthodox disputant is sufficiently instructed and capable to meet them. In passing this on, the intermediary very naturally suggested to Fr Pope that he should insist on certain preliminary agreements to preclude unfairness on my part. I wrote therefore to him, accepting those points. I had previously offered Fr Pope the same space in my pamphlet for criticism as might be occupied by my lecture itself. But I now added one precaution on my own side, which I must give here in my own words. "I do not understand, however, that this engagement is to preclude me from following up Fr Pope's criticisms at the end of my pamphlet—in other words, that it compels me to leave Fr Pope with the last word. Considering the fact that he put us off at the Guildhall with a palpably false quotation—please remember that when I use this word *false* of Fr Pope, I do it in the same sense as when I used it to his face at his own lecture ; viz, that his mis-statements are not deliberate, but ignorant—if, as I say, he deluded us again with false statements, I do not understand that I should not even have the right of confuting them, as we confuted him at the Guildhall, by producing the original documents. This, as you must see, would be absurd. I am sending a *verbatim* copy of this to Fr Pope by the 10 *a.m.* post."

Fr Pope replied, by return of post :—

Dear Dr Coulton,

Because you have a bee in your bonnet is that any reason why I should get stung? It is easy enough for you to sling mud for an hour at a doctrine very dear to millions of Catholics throughout the world. But how or why you should expect us to spend time in unravelling your misapprehensions passes my comprehension.

I have no wish to be discourteous but truth compels me

to say that I could never have believed that a man of your standing could have betrayed such incredible ignorance on a subject on which he undertook to lecture. If only you would read and study any ordinary treatise on Infallibility you would have escaped all the pitfalls in which you fell.

I am sorry to have to write like this but you ought to see that you made an absolutely unprovoked attack—as indeed you have been doing for many years past.

Sincerely yours,

F. Hugh Pope, O.P.

To which I replied :

Dear Father Pope,

I had naturally expected that you would repeat your refusal of the other day, but it seemed only fair to give you a further chance. Since this is a question of public interest, I propose to print your letter with my own at the end of my lecture.

Believe me,

Yours faithfully,

G. G. Coulton

This, then, is the attitude, in time of real trial, of that man whom the Oxford Dominicans sent down to instruct us in the faith, and who, a few years ago, reviewing Miss Deanesly's admirable *Lollard Bible*, blundered hopelessly over three important questions of fact, and assured us blandly, almost in the same breath : "the real truth is—though it always sounds an invidious thing to say it : scholars outside the Catholic Church cannot rightly handle history[1]." Face to face with the cold risks of cross-examination, he is content to ignore his own St Thomas's assurance that disputation is an orthodox necessity, since "thus the simple will be confirmed in the faith, and the power of deceiving will be taken away from the unbelievers ; and the silence of those who ought to resist such as pervert the true faith would be a confirmation of their error."

Thirdly, it is well to take an example of the way in which misapprehensions can be removed by a comparison of arguments, if only both sides are allowed to read those arguments. Arthur Brinckman, half a century ago, had one golden rule.

[1] For full details, see pp. 8, 34, of the 3rd edition of my *Roman Catholic Church and the Bible.* (Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 2/- net).

"Years ago, I began to advise every one I could, who was at all likely to be attacked by Roman controversialists, to ask them to put down their assertions in writing. The effect was excellent."[1] In another of his booklets he went into the controversial statistics of Romanism, and showed how, with all their boasts of progress, succeeding censuses showed them to be stationary. Bishop Baines, from whom I have quoted in my lecture, was revolted in 1831 by the clamorous talk among his co-religionists as to the conversion of England, now that the Emancipation Act had been passed.[2] He calculated that, by the most optimistic possible reckoning, and without taking any account of leakage, his denomination was making 5,000 converts per annum. At this rate (he pointed out) it would take 200 years to make a million converts. Yet then, as now, Rome could command enormous sums in death-bed legacies, and she had already begun to advertise busily in new buildings and in every other way; yet, by her own calculations, things go on just at the rate which Baines noted exactly a century ago. With more than double the then population, she claims to have averaged a little more than 10,000 converts a year in this present generation; that is still at the old rate of scarcely more than one adult in 200,000. Moreover, the leakage now, as then, pretty exactly balances the gain; at each fresh census, the proportion of Romanists to the general population remains fairly constant.

For many years, I have followed Brinckman's rule; but it is not so easy as it looks. Fr Joseph Rickaby, S.J., made, in his "Oxford Conferences," a public and slanderous misstatement as to the faith of Protestants, as false as the ancient Protestant libel that a Papal Indulgence is a licence to sin. I wrote to *The Month* demanding proof; the Editor replied that they do not publish letters; therefore he handed my demand for explanation to Fr Rickaby, who wrote me a letter almost incredibly ridiculous in its logic. When I exposed this, he took shelter under the plea that his was a private letter. It has therefore been legally impossible for me to print it in my own justification; and I have, in fact, been accused in *The Dublin Review* for things which would have been impossible but for the good Father's refusal to let the public see his own written word, in answer to a public challenge, upon a public question. His fellow-Jesuit, Fr Gerard, refused similarly to let me reprint his attack upon me

[1] *Controversial Methods of Romanism.* 1888. p. vii.

[2] Bernard Ward, *Sequel to Cath. Emanc.*, Vol. I., p. 212, from Baines's *Letter to Cardinal Fransoni.* p. 13.

in *The Tablet*, with the long correspondence which ensued.[1] Even when we have got them to put it in writing, there are still opportunities of evasion; moreover, some correspondents may have the real reason, which neither of the two Jesuits could plead, that they are not controversialists.

But, as one who has suffered, I take this opportunity of clearly defining my own attitude. I think I may say that I have never written a word to any man in seriousness, on a public subject, which I would hesitate for a moment to see in print. And I think every man has a right to demand some such sense of responsibility from all correspondents. If anyone is not sufficiently sure of his ground, let him not spend his own time and mine by writing to me at all. If he marks his letter *Private*, I may acknowledge whatever friendliness there may be in it, but certainly I will waste no time upon what I must regard as a runaway knock. On the other hand, unless such a letter is so marked, I should not hesitate, if need be, to quote as much from it as might be necessary to expose what might seem to me the mischievous misconceptions which the writer was trying to force upon me. I do not see, otherwise, how Romanists and non-Romanists can ever come to understand each other.

Looking back at a great many such letters which I have received, and at what I have heard in discussion, and at what undergraduates have sometimes told me, I think it may be useful to conclude here with an imaginary letter to an imaginary composite person—to any or all of the hundred or so who applauded Fr Pope's every word with such disciplined docility at both these lectures, or of their predecessors during the 19 years I have been teaching at Cambridge. It would run somewhat as follows.

"I noted that Fr Pope had special success with you whenever he stigmatized any objection as "an old chestnut," and that your faces beamed with gleeful superiority. You are doubtless impressed by his assertion that all have been answered, dozens of times "in any ordinary treatise." If I asked what these treatises were, you would probably refer me to several which, in fact, I have already studied. Your main general authority in English is *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, a work in which the historical articles are sometimes quite good, but sometimes, again, so extraordinarily inaccurate that they disgrace the name of *Encyclopaedia* in a civilised country. *The Catholic Dictionary*, at any rate in its earlier editions, was far more trustworthy; but both its authors, Addis and

[1] For these two cases see my *Catholic Truth and Historical Truth*, obtainable from Simpkin Marshall & Co., at 6d. net.

Arnold, had learned their scholarship as Anglicans; both went back, after joining your Church, and Arnold alone, at the end of his life, returned to it. Then you have Ryder's *Catholic Controversy*, Abbot Chapman's *Reply to Bp Gore*, and a little much-used manual called Conway's *Question-Box Answers*. Ryder I first dipped into in 1885, when Fr Pope was fifteen or sixteen years old; afterwards I read him very carefully at a time when the majority of my Guildhall hearers were not yet born. I am exposing Ryder's methods and Chapman's, and especially the unaccountable way in which they quietly ignore the most embarrassing evidence, in my nearly finished "Romanism and Truth". The fact is that those two men do furtively what Fr Pope did brazenly, in the absence of any chairman's control, at his own lecture; they prevent their audience from even surmising some of the most obvious objections.

In the light of those considerations, I ask you to consider what is the logical value of Fr Pope's gibe about "old chestnuts;" a matter which I emphasize here not so much on his account, as because the same idea, in those or other words, is expressed by all your apologists. You must see that the only real question is not "How *often* have our objections been met?" but "How *adequately*?" The answers which to you seem adequate and final, seem to nine-tenths of educated and thinking people in this country either inaccurate as history or halting in logic. That being so, the older our objections are, and the more childishly obvious, the more likely they are to be valid. Your apologists, voluble and aggressive wherever they can skirmish on broken ground, and boastful so long as they remain in their own trenches, steadily refuse to submit their "adequate" replies on these major points to ordinary cross-examination by men who, like them, profess to rely upon ancient documents. In these circumstances, the older and more trite my objections are, the less your friends are justified in refusing to discuss them with me. If I were concerned to pose as an original thinker, the reason you give for the reluctance of Roman Catholics to dispute might be some sort of argument *ad hominem*. But, on the contrary, it is precisely this want of originality which constitutes the strength of my case; and the laughter which greeted Fr Pope's cheap gibes at his lecture is simply a measure of the thoughtlessness of his audience. My great-grandfather would have put exactly these same questions to his great-grandfather. His great-grandfather might well have been among the majority who solemnly declared to Parliament, in order to procure Emancipation, "we acknowledge no Infallibility in the Pope." If, on the other hand, this respected ancestor was of that more

Papalist minority whom Bishop Baines treated as non-existent for practical purposes, then the reasons he could have produced in 1822 would no more have appealed to the ordinary thoughtful Briton than those same reasons appeal nowadays, after a hundred years of repetition,

Let me remind you, singly and collectively, that you are young men, enormously dependent upon your present teachers. Some of you may be recent converts; and my own sympathies are slightly, *a priori*, in favour of the man who changes his religion; he does at least show, in most cases, that he takes the matter seriously. But you are now bound by that other decree of the Vatican Council; "If any man say that the faithful and those who have not yet arrived at the Uniquely True Faith are alike in their condition—*parem esse conditionem*—so that Catholics might have just cause to call in doubt that faith which they have already received under the teaching of the Church, and to suspend their assent until they have arrived at a scientific demonstration of the credibility and truth of their faith, let him be accursed." Or again, in the very *Letter to the French Prelates and Clergy*, in which Leo XIII. tells them to study history (8 Sept., 1899), he adds: "Those who study it must never lose sight of the fact that it contains a collection of dogmatic facts, which impose themselves upon our faith, and which nobody is ever permitted to call in doubt"—*révoquer en doute*, a phrase which would include even temporary mental doubt.[1] Therefore, whenever your teachers profess to "study" the history of Infallibility, they do so under those anathemas. If Fr Pope, or the compilers of your *Dictionnaire Apologétique*, allowed themselves for one moment to suppose that the negation of Infallibility by the Fathers of Constance, and by Bossuet with his French clergy, and by Baines with his more intelligent majority, was any serious bar to belief in Infallibility, then they would at once be accursed. Many men, of course, are quite unconscious of these limitations; it is possible to be born in pre-ordained harmony with them. But, on the other hand, many others do realize the shackles as they grow older; thus it is that the German Catholic Mumbauer complained of being shut up in a spiritual Ghetto; and George Tyrrell realized finally that he had behaved "as when a man fetters his limbs and throws away the key. Plausible as this sounds, yet is the 'protective' principle any better because it is applied to us suicidally by our own act?"[2]

[1] Both quotations may be found in Carl Mirbt, *Quellen z. Gesch. d. Papsthums*, 2nd ed. pp. 377, 414.

[2] *Autobiog. and Life*, by M. D. Petre, vol. II., p. 491 (letter to his General in the Jesuit Order).

Therefore you will realize that whatever is aggressive in this letter is far less applicable to you, singly or collectively, than to those apologists whose arguments seemed adequate and final, for instance, to a man like Fr Vernon. It is a work of real public service to drag those arguments—and, still more, those unblushing historical assertions—into the daylight. Nobody will know who are the half-dozen, out of hundreds of possible correspondents, who are most in my thoughts as I write this particular letter. But everybody knows who is behind you; everybody knows who are the men upon whom you rely. And my own experience, after many years of dealing with your apologists, leads me more and more to the conviction that—to use the words which I used lately to Mr Belloc in his own *Universe*[1], and which he accepted with rare silence and patience—the men who are mainly responsible for that unpopularity of your Church, of which he complains, are, too often, not only bullies but cowards. I look upon some, at least, as quite unworthy (theologically and historically speaking) of the trust which you repose in them; and here, at any rate, is a question in which doubt is not forbidden to you either by Pius IX. or by Leo XIII.; therefore, watch carefully as the years go on, and see whether I am right or wrong. Next time Mr Chesterton repeats his childish attacks upon modern science, ask yourself faithfully these two questions: (1) Does any scientist worth the name, reflecting seriously on any problem, look upon the answer as a foregone conclusion, unless it be such ultimates as "I myself exist," "there is some difference between truth and falsehood"? And (2) "Can any Roman Catholic, acting truly up to his name, consider the question of Papal Infallibility otherwise than by accepting it as a foregone conclusion"? and thence consider whether the scientist, with all his possible faults, is not exercising after his own fashion the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and whether Mr Chesterton has not gone into an asylum and thrown away the key.

Again, reflect on this argument which has just reached me through the post by a member of your own Church who wishes to convert me: "In fact, Mr H. Belloc was only complaining the other day in *The Universe* that in these days there are no pundits and controversialists worthy of our protagonists, who were merely striding around the Catholic arena quite unchallenged and unchallengeable." Ask yourself how that district which my correspondent here calls *the Catholic arena* differs from that which Mumbauer calls *the Catholic Ghetto*. The picture of Messrs Belloc and Chesterton stripped for the fight, striding around their own particular arena and appealing in vain for challengers, is indeed Gargantuan; but we must balance it with a counter-picture from another of my unknown correspondents, who compared Mr Chesterton's recent gambols in the *Daily Telegraph* to those of a bear on hot bricks. And, for Mr Belloc, we have a still more convincing counter-picture. In his "Point of View" contributed to *The Listener*, of Nov. 27, 1929, he did indeed stride and challenge lustily enough; it was there that he predicted this coming Armageddon to decide between the people who "knew", like himself, and those who merely "had opinions", like the rest of us. I therefore took up his challenge at once and wrote to the Editor: (Dec. 11.):—

[1] March 15, 1929.

"I believe, with the large majority of modern historical students, that the doctrine of Infallibility is quite irreconcilable with notorious facts of history. I have also reason to believe, from an occasional study of Mr Belloc's writings, that he himself is weakest on the ground on which, apparently, he feels most at home: that is, among the philosophers and theologians of the Middle Ages. This it is which emboldens me to meet him at the point where, by common consent, the real crux lies, and where discussion would turn mainly on matters of history and of mediæval theology. I am ready to maintain the thesis that the 1870 Decree of Infallibility is irreconcilable with history. We could not, of course, discuss this in your columns; but many of your readers might well wish to follow such a discussion on other ground. I would gladly accept your chairmanship, Mr Editor, or that of an old and distinguished Jesuit historian whom I am ready to name, and who might keep the ring. A dozen publishers would compete for a book with Mr Belloc's name on the title-page; and, as he is mainly concerned to preach certain saving truths, he will doubtless welcome the suggestion that the copyright of our joint discussion should go to the Hospital Fund. If the Armageddon which he foresees can be averted, the first step must be to dispel this mist of ignorance, which (most alarming symptom of all) reigns especially nowadays among historical teachers in our schools and universities."

Since no answer came, I followed this up on Jan. 1st:—

"Since Mr Belloc shows no sign of maintaining his challenge, though I registered my letter to him on the morning on which it appeared in your columns, you will doubtless permit me to add that, in prevision of cases like this, I have reprinted verbally, without comment, our last interchange of letters on this subject in the public press.

Any reader who sends me a stamped addressed envelope shall receive a copy." Here, again, no reply from Mr Belloc.

The leaflet here referred to runs as follows :—

The Universe, March 15, 1929.

MR BELLOC AND DR COULTON. . . .

Dr G. G. Coulton sends us the following in reply to Mr Belloc's article of last week :—

Sir,—With the matters treated by Mr Belloc in most of his article I will not intrude upon your space. He boasts of having convicted me of inaccuracies ; but all of your readers who care to send me a stamped and addressed envelope shall receive an exact reprint of the last two letters exchanged between Mr Belloc and myself in a recent public controversy ; they can then judge for themselves between us.

But Mr Belloc's concluding sentences convey an accusation so false in its random malice, and so injurious to this University as well as to myself, that I must ask you to permit me a plain correction. Mr Belloc represents it as a disgrace and as a proof of bitter public hostility to his Church, that I "occupy an official position in one of the two main official teaching bodies of the country, and from that position he is allowed without any protest that I have seen from his colleagues, or from the general Press, to blackguard and malign that religion which, we flatter ourselves, is now so well received."

"What would happen," he asks, "to a Catholic who in such a position let himself go in that fashion ? He would be out of his job in a week."

The fact is that, this term, I happen to have five Roman Catholic clergy in my different classes here, all of whom come either by their own choice or by that of their (Roman Catholic) directors, since they were perfectly free to choose alternative subjects or lectures. Any pupil may, after lecture, discuss with me any point that arouses his disagreement. In fact, I owed several corrections of detail, in earlier days, to an Italian Jesuit whom I had in my class, and who remarked once, towards the end of the course, "after all, the differences between us are rather philosophical than historical." There are Roman Catholic teachers up here, and they are free to say just what they think.

Mr Belloc himself, if he had succeeded in obtaining that official position in the other of the two main teaching bodies, for which many years age he competed, would have been free to say exactly what he thought. If, in the end, he had lost

that job, it would have been because undergraduates, after a little while, are keen enought to distinguish random rhetoric from fact and would have deserted him for some duller competitor.

The unpopularity of his Church, in so far as it exists, is mainly created **by him and by others like him ; men who are not only bullies but cowards. Mr Belloc knows perfectly well that he would not dare to discuss publicly with me, here or in London, to be reported verbatim and printed, such subjects as Papal Infallibility, Roman Catholic and Protestant Intolerance, or the Causes of the Reformation. In a few days I hope to leave for a month's holiday ; it will be a pleasant surprise if I find, on my return, that he has accepted this challenge.** Meanwhile I repeat, any reader who can spare three-halfpence and a quarter of an hour's time may judge between us.

G. G. COULTON.

St John's College,
Cambridge.

MR BELLOC'S ANSWER IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF *Universe* :—

Mr Coulton may rest assured. He will be delighted on returning from his holiday to learn that I have not the slightest intention of wasting my time listening to his dull recital of "one million facts not generally known" against the see of Peter, the doctrine of the eucharist, or any other Catholic dogma.

But he may also rest assured that next time he suppresses evidence or misrepresents facts I shall be after him again. I have hooked on and I do not mean to let go.

The fact is that, up to the present point, Mr Belloc has never risked himself outside his Ghetto. He may, of course, be still preparing a sudden sortie upon the pundits and controversialists : but the plain fact is that he has hitherto shirked the fight. He and *The Universe* may print their own version for their own particular public ; but *securus judicat orbis terrarum*. I cannot help thinking that, if you and your friends take clear note of these things, you will understand that I write this plainly and publicly in order to shake off the dust, once for all, from an arena into which no honest scholar ought to be expected to descend. Meanwhile, you and I can repudiate each other's ideals without impugning each other's sincerity ; but, after all, it is the ideals that matter, and not we ourselves."

PART II.

PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF THE LECTURE

As I have pointed out above, the reporter was here in considerable difficulties; since there were rapid interchanges from different parts of the hall, with frequent quotations or technical terms. I offered to Frs. Pope and Reeves the opportunity of correcting the typescript from their own point of view, with the reporter's assent, just as I have done with my own part. They preferred to leave the whole responsibility to me, under protest that this is not a complete report. That is undoubtedly true, and I wish to make no controversial capital out of their refusal; they are within their rights. But I am convinced, and so are others, that the omissions and misunderstandings on both sides cancel each other out pretty exactly, and that neither party has suffered more than the other. It would have been wiser, if I had realised it, to employ two stenographers for this unusually long and difficult discussion, who might have relayed each other.

Perhaps the greatest injustice done to Fr. Pope in this report is, that it cannot reproduce the gestures and attitudes and emotional modulations of voice with which he constantly reinforced his rhetoric.

But certainly, in one most important respect, it does no injustice whatever to my opponents; it shows clearly what they judged to be the best lines of attack, and, especially, what lines they judged it prudent to avoid altogether. On the face of it, nothing can seem more damning to this theory of a Papal Infallibility supposed to be inherent in the Christian revelation, and existent from the very first, than the fact that Papal Infallibility could be denied after sixteen centuries of Christian thinkers, not only by all Eastern and Reformed Churches, but also by the most learned men within the Roman Church itself; and that, in England, the majority of Romanists disbelieved in it until it was decreed by the Vatican Council. Infallibilist disputants commonly avoid this difficulty altogether, under shelter of a false accusation of ignorance against us; they accuse us of ignoring (as though we did not know it as well as they do) the fact that in the Roman Church no doctrine is *de fide* until it has been formally proclaimed. They answer us as though we were arguing only from the first sentence usually quoted from Keenan's Catechism; and, if that sentence stood alone, their answer would hold good. For, in that first sentence, Keenan does no more than imply "Inopportunism"; we need necessarily infer no more than that, though the doctrines might be true, it was not yet *de fide*, and Keenan might doubt (as Newman and other great men did) the wisdom of proclaiming it in 1870 as *de fide*. But Keenan's second sentence, which the apologists ignore, goes one definite step farther; it denies not only the *opportunism*, but the *fact*, of Infallibility. Still more plainly does this come out when it is read in connection with Bishop Baines's "In England or Ireland

I do not believe that any Catholic maintains the Infallibility of the Pope," and the Declaration of 1788: "We acknowledge no Infallibility in the Pope," and the confession of Mgr. Ward, borne out by Miss Petre in her *Life* of her ancestor, Lord Petre, that the majority of Roman Catholics in England, during the generation preceding the Vatican Council, had not only no active belief in the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, but might almost be described as actively disbelieving in it. It is from this difficulty that they try to escape by a conspiracy of silence, behind the (here inapplicable) logical distinction of Opportunists and Inopportunists. It would be difficult to find a more flagrant example of *suppressio veri, suggestio falsi*.

There is one point, however, on which I owe an unqualified apology to Fr. Reeves. I slipped out—and regretted it the moment it had left my lips—a gratuitous and unwarranted implication that the Italian preface to the new Index would have puzzled him. There was no real excuse for this insinuation in any case, and in this particular instance I now happen to know that he had been spending part of that very morning upon an Italian book. It is not fair, therefore, that I should simply cut out an innuendo which ought never to have been spoken; the only possible reparation, and that imperfect, is to print this apology as plainly as the offence is printed.

STENOGRAPHER'S REPORT

[The initials refer to the following speakers: **C.** = Dr. Coulton; **E.** = Fr. F. X. Ehrhart, S.J., of Christ's College, Cambridge and St. Edmund's House, Cambridge; **P.** = Fr. Pope; **R.** = Fr. J. B. Reeves, O.P., of St. Dominic's Priory, Southampton Road, N.W.]

The CHAIRMAN: The meeting is now open to hear questions put to Dr. Coulton. I hope those who have questions will put them in writing, more especially if they are technical. I know exactly what I have to say now: I disturb Dr. Coulton and you by standing (laughter).

E.: There are one or two points which your lecture leaves in doubt. The advertised subject was Infallibility, and I do not think you have brought out clearly that the Roman doctrine of Papal Infallibility is based upon, and inseparably bound up with, the antecedent dogma of the Godhead and Infallibility of Jesus Christ, and the Infallibility in faith and morals of the Bible. Will Dr. Coulton say whether he does or does not concede those dogmas?

C.: The question is, I understand, whether I concede that the Infallibility of the Pope is inseparably bound up with the Infallibility of Jesus Christ and the Church.

E.: Next, I ask Dr. Coulton what he thinks of men like Newman and Hefele, who, after having opposed Infallibility, had not courage enough to throw away their job and go outside.

C.: I think, sir, that you scarcely realise the mental and moral as well as the material difficulty of doing that. Lord Acton, for instance, who had nothing to lose, except his religion, by definitely proclaiming his disbelief in Infallibility to the last, refused to proclaim his disbelief because he did not wish to die excommunicated rather than tell a lie. I think, then, with regard to Newman and Hefele, the main thing that kept them both in the Church was that they felt with Lord Acton that their religion was more to them than their life, and that if they went out they would be doing what the Germans call "throwing away the baby with the bath" (laughter). They would throw away, with what they thought necessary to throw away, something even more important than what they wanted to throw away.

E.: But, may I ask, is not one dogma essentially bound up with another? and if you refuse to accept one, are you not refusing to accept the other also?

C.: Not till you can show that the dogma is more than a matter of your private assertion.

E.: Therefore the whole thing comes to this, that I may choose what I like; I am perfectly free? God has nothing to impose on me? I take what I like?

C.: No, not *God*; but no *man* has anything to impose on you—a simple distinction which people in your state of mind never seem to grasp.

E.: The only point on which I do not see my way is this, from whom have I to ask for light? Is God bound to enlighten me Himself?

C.: Certainly, God will enlighten you if you pray to Him and try to find the truth.

E.: He will enlighten me? How?

C.: Your conscience.

E.: My conscience cannot tell whether a thing is true or false. It can tell me whether what I am doing is right or wrong, but not whether something is true or not, whether a doctrine is true or not. My conscience cannot tell me.

The questioner was retiring from the front when

C. said: Wait one moment. Hadn't we better finish it out?

E.: I think it is enough.

C.: All right, then. I will answer the first question; Do I concede that the Infallibility of the Pope is inseparably bound up with the Infallibility of Jesus Christ and the Church? Most certainly it is not bound up with it, and I may just repeat what Kenrick said before the Vatican Council, that the attempt to deduce Papal Infallibility from the Bible was a falsity. They are *not* bound up together.

R.: May I ask Dr. Coulton whether, when he states that the dogma of Infallibility is not bound up with the dogma of Christ's Divinity—when he asserts that with emphasis—is he speaking infallibly?

C.: No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN: The question should be put to the chair. I wish to answer it. It is an assumption that in every case we are guided infallibly, whether by the Pope or by our own consciences. It is an assumption that we have infallible guiding. It seems to me that it is just the same in theology as in science, that we have not always an infallible guide, and that *humanum est errare*. But it is also a fact that "Still it moves," as Galileo says, it still goes on. I think the assumption, whether we are Protestant or Catholic, that we are in a fool-proof régime, is untrue, and that in any case it is only

an assumption. That is my private opinion, wrong or right (applause).

C.: Nobody need take the trouble or waste any further time by asking whether I am infallible. I am as convinced of my own fallibility as I am of that of the Pope.

R.: It was obvious that my question was a leading question. I would wish, first of all, if I may, to remove personal elements from this discussion by asking Dr. Coulton in all good faith if he would kindly withdraw the suggestion that he made against Fr. Pope: if, in the statement he read to us about what took place at the last debate, which I unfortunately was not present at personally, he has not got evidence that Fr. Pope said that any others besides Clifford and Newman were opportunists, would he withdraw his suggestion that Fr. Pope tried to make use of opportunism as a way to get out of his difficulties?

C.: I fail to see what difference that would make between Fr. Pope and myself.

R.: I ask it because they were the only evidences of unfairness on your part. Apart from that difficulty that I have, and another which I will mention in a moment, it seems to be perfectly clear in between.

The CHAIRMAN: Do you mean *have* opposed, or those who *do* oppose at present? Which tense did you use? Is it Clifford and Newman *plus* somebody else? or they and Catholics generally?

R.: Clifford and Newman, as I understand it. Have you evidence that Fr. Pope insisted that all the opposition to Infallibility either at the Council or at the time of the Council, or before, was based on inopportunism?

C.: It was so brief that we cannot say he *insisted* on it, but if I read his exact words again you will see it is an answer to your question. Fr. Pope said: "The answer surely is simplicity itself: The reason why was, that they did *not* deny it. What they said was, 'we don't hold it,' a very different thing. It sounds like a diabolical evasion; it isn't. No one could hold it then as being *de fide*, because there was no infallible pronouncement that it had been revealed. You cannot state of those two men: "You have said the Pope is not infallible." Cardinal Newman and Bishop Clifford—why were they opposed? They were not opposed to the doctrine, but to the pronouncement of defining it then." If those words were an answer to my question, then they imply that nobody else, nobody worth counting besides Newman and Clifford, was opposed to Infallibility *in itself*. The words were entirely calculated to leave the audience under the

impression that the opposition in England to the Infallibility decree of which I spoke was merely opportunist, and not fundamental.

R.: I must accept your interpretation of the statement. Your text is as I suggested. The text itself does not prove to me that Fr. Pope said so foolish a thing as that all the opposition to Infallibility was mere opportunism.[1]

C.: I did not say he said it. He implied it.

R.: The audience must decide.

Do you suggest that Catholics as a body are ignorant of the fact that before ever there was the definition of doctrine which they now accept there had been intense controversy, the view now condemned being often held by eminent and saintly men?

C.: Experience has taught me that there is no bottom to the ignorance of some Catholics on some historical subjects which they ought to know (laughter).

R.: I shall, in spite of that remark, still be as civil as I can. You have suggested that your notion of Infallibility is this, that when Pius IX makes the statement which you read in his Syllabus, before it can be decided by Catholics whether that is an infallible statement they still have to go and ask him whether it be so. They receive from him, we assume, the answer "Yes." He has now decided that the first statement is infallible. Has he decided that his "Yes" is infallible? According to your suggestion, no; they must go and ask him whether his "Yes" yesterday was infallible. To-day he would add another "Yes." The first "Yes" is infallible if the last "Yes" is infallible. We must now go to him, according to the conception of Infallibility which you have presented, and ask him if "Yes" No. 2 is infallible, to which we assume he answers by "Yes" No. 3. "Yes" No. 3 still remains in doubt; we must go and ask him whether "Yes" No. 3 was infallible, and we receive, we assume, the answer "Yes" No. 4. And so on. Is that an honest conception of our Catholic doctrine of Infallibility? We may be ignorant of history, but do you think we are so ignorant of logic as that?

C.: This gentleman has presented very clearly the logical difficulty which was presented, I believe, by an undergraduate to Fr. Pope at the last discussion, and in which the undergraduate said quite coolly, in a meek and contemplative voice at the end, "You have not answered my question, sir."[2] His [the undergraduate's] question was this: "How, in logic or philosophy, can an infallible person decree his own infallibility? Is it not simply arguing in a circle?" We feel that that is an almost unanswerable—at any rate, a logical

difficulty which we should very much like answered—and I understand my questioner only to present this difficulty in an extraordinarily picturesque form, and to supply no answer himself. May I suggest he should answer his own question? How do we know that the Pope is Infallible if the only evidence we have is that the Pope calls himself Infallible? (laughter).

R.: Dr. Coulton gives me an opportunity for which I am most grateful. But he has not answered my question. My question was, Does he suppose, whatever we think about Infallibility, that we have entertained such a notion as that? Does he think we are foolish enough to rest content with such a notion as that?

C.: If I answer that as I fully believe, you will say I am not very polite. I believe there is no greater fraud in the world than to assert that Roman Catholics are exacter thinkers and put things more exactly in words than other people. On the contrary, the whole trouble of Church history is the muddled language of the Roman Catholic Church, and it is perfectly possible for thousands of Roman Catholics to be in the sort of delusion which you have so clearly presented to us (laughter).

R.: I do not wish to avail myself of the perfectly fair opportunity you have given me of expounding the doctrine of Infallibility again. What I would like to ask,—but I do not like to trespass—

C.: A large number of people would like to hear you, and personally I should like to hear you as long as possible.

R.: I will continue for a few minutes, at the request of the lecturer. The last question I put was, Does Dr. Coulton think that Catholics as a body hold such a foolish faith as I have attempted to describe? But the answers were capable of application to anything. To be perfectly serious—

C.: I *was* serious; that is the worst of it.

R.: I am going to be serious now, sir, too. Does Dr. Coulton object to the notion of an Infallible Church? Or does he object to the claim which the Catholic Church makes to be an Infallible Church?

C.: I should have a perfect right to refuse to answer that question, because, however favourably I answered, it would not bring us a step further. But I willingly answer it. I do *not* believe in an Infallible visible Church.

R.: Then am I justified in concluding, first of all from the admission that you do not believe in an Infallible visible Church, and secondly from your unexceptionable statement that we are all liable to make fools of ourselves, the Catholics among the number, that your ideal Church is a Church that

occasionally does make a fool of itself, and though its Infallibility be foolishness you have no objection to the Catholic Church on that ground? In other words, are you not making foolishness into a canon apart from which we can do nothing.

C.: No. There is natural foolishness and what I may call wilful foolishness, and my objection to the Roman Catholic Church is that it does not allow its adherents to read both sides of the question. Take Acton's description [of the proceedings at the Vatican Council of 1870]—the most learned man who ever taught history at Cambridge. *You* may have a dispensation, sir, but other Catholics here must not read it; and, that being so, it seems to me that that is a degree to which a Church which claims to be better than the other Churches in the world certainly must not go, and that this alone, if there were nothing else, disproves the superiority of the Roman Church to the other Churches.

R.: This is my last question. The whole of Dr. Coulton's argument is proceeding on the premise that Catholics are not only foolish and ignorant, and more so than anybody else, or that the Catholic Church is not only foolish but foolishly ignorant and wicked. That is the assumption on which all the answers have been based and the statement made. . . .

C.: While the words are fresh in my memory may I answer that? You say I *start* from those premises, dont' you?

R.: You have appealed to them when pressed.

C.: You say I *start* from those premises?

R.: I said "based."

C.: But you tacitly *start* from them, if you *base* yourself on them. You say "foolishly ignorant and also wicked." To begin with, they are not my premises but the conclusion —(laughter)—to which, at the age of seventy-one I have arrived, to a very large extent by assiduous reading of your own books. I have read a great many Roman Catholic books. In the second place, I appeal to all [here present] to say whether I have said anything to suggest *wickedness* on the part of the Roman Catholic Church, and whether I have not distinctly gone out of my way to praise what I can praise in that Church (hear, hear).

R.: I must insist that Dr. Coulton has suggested wickedness. He has suggested that the Roman Catholic Church does not allow its children to get both sides of any debated question and give it a fair hearing. That statement was made and applauded. In addressing himself to me he suggested that I might have a dispensation. I not only have a dispensation to read what I can, but also I have the power to grant dispensations to anybody who applies to me. I wish to ask Dr. Coulton, does he suggest that I would withhold a dispensation from any qualified, intelligent person—and by that I mean anyone like himself? (laughter). Does he think I would withhold a dispensation from such a person? I do not insist that such a person should have had Dr. Coulton's opportunities for study and long years of experience, but I mean one who has Dr. Coulton's native honesty and Dr. Coulton's very average intelligence, which I acknowledge (laughter). Does he suggest that I would withhold such a dispensation from such a person applying for it?

C.: May I remind you of your promise to keep personalities out of this? Will you kindly ask the question in these terms—"Do you suppose that a certain sincere person named 'X' would refuse it?" It keeps personalities out of it (applause).

R.: The word "wicked" has been introduced.

C.: But he ['X'] might be wicked—(laughter).

R.: I am wishing to show you that you have suggested wickedness in the Catholic Church in having suggested that the power of dispensation is used in such a way as deliberately to keep large numbers of Roman Catholics in ignorance. That has been your suggestion; and I am asking you whether you say that if an ordinary Catholic priest, such as I hope I am, is asked by an honest enquirer, having no immoral motive, no sinister motive, for permission to read anything, that permission will be refused.

C.: I have no doubt whatever that there are a large number of Roman Catholic priests who will be as reasonable as you have described. But, you know, Joseph McCabe was a distinguished Roman Catholic priest, known [in his Franciscan days] as Fr. David, and if you read his book, *Twelve Years in a Monastery*, you will see he says the priest will go into a house and if he sees a book of Huxley's, or books of that kind, he will often forbid it and order that it should be taken away. I can give you stronger evidence, from Fr. Tyrrell, and from Fr. Barrett, another of the Jesuits, and there are others, as to the way in which the censorship system can be carried out. I have mentioned Cardinal Baronius. There is an extraordinarily pathetic letter extant from a distinguished orthodox German scholar begging that the Cardinal, in response to a particular favour, will get him leave to read books that are on the Index. He says, "As a matter of fact, nearly all the dictionaries and decent works of reference are on the Index because of a Protestant preface or index, and I cannot get on with my work because all the books of reference are barred to me."

R.: Could you say what the actual discipline of the Church is in the matter of forbidden books, and whether a priest taking up the attitude you describe is following out the discipline of the Church? What is the obligation of a Catholic priest in the matter, and why does the list of forbidden books exist?

C.: I can tell you that, from the latest preface, which you have probably not read—

R.: No, I have not read it.

C.: No. It is in Italian (laughter). You will find that the whole of that Index binds the whole Roman Catholic world, in every language, "except for certain relaxations." Those relaxations are common in England and in the more cultivated parts, such as Germany, but they are not common abroad. Barring those relaxations nobody may read Montaigne's *Essays*, Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, John Stuart Mill's *Political Economy*, Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici* or Taine's *History of English Literature*. These are forbidden. And if you wish to get authentic evidence as to Continental and English practices, look in *The Contemporary Review* of about twenty years ago and you will find an article called *Book-keeping by Double Entry*, in which the writer points out how the Index is strictly operative in parts of the Continent. And it acts in England exactly as the Volstead Act works in America (laughter).

[Here Fr. Reeves sat down.]

The CHAIRMAN: I regret to say that a question sent to me from the back of the hall cannot be put. It begins, "Is it relevant to ask—." I decide it is not relevant, on the ground that it is equally applicable to all varieties of Christians, and as this dispute is not *de omnibus rebus*, but is as to the alleged Infallibility of a certain portion of the Church, I rule that, though an interesting question in itself, it does not belong to this meeting. [Here Dr. Coulton looked at this question-paper which had been sent in, and handed it down to Fr. Reeves, who smiled and nodded consent to its suppression. It contained, in fact, a vulgar insinuation against the Pope. Meanwhile, Fr. Pope came up from the back of the hall, and was offered a seat on the platform, which he declined.]

P.: I would like an explanation of the words St. Irenaeus wrote about the year 180. He is asking how we are to get certainty in our doctrine, and he says, "Since it would take a long time to enumerate the succession of bishops in all Churches, yet by pointing to the faith of the greatest, most ancient, and best known Church, founded and established

by Peter and Paul at Rome, that faith which that Church received from the Apostles and preached to men, that faith which has come down to us by the succession of the bishops of Rome—by appealing to that we rout all heretics, for to this Church of Rome, by reason of its more powerful principality, it is necessary that every Church should go, that is, that the faithful who are everywhere should go, for in this Church there has been observed by all those who are everywhere the tradition of the Apostles." I would like to ask what that means.

C.: I will answer it—Do you believe that the words, "its most powerful principalities" and "in this Church there has been observed the faith," or words to that effect—do you think that amounts to an assertion of Infallibility?

P.: Absolutely; in this sense. May I explain? I do not want to lecture—stop me if I do,—but I would like to say this. Dr. Coulton said very truly that you never found the word Infallibility in the early dictionaries. Of course, you did not; but you found the *thing*.[3] You found an absolute conviction right down through Church history that at Rome is the final authority in things of faith. That is the doctrine. I am not prepared to prove that historically step by step, but I can. If I may say so, I was disappointed with Dr. Coulton's lecture. I could have given an immeasurably worse case against Roman Catholicism than that. There was not a single argument brought forward which is not to be found in every Catholic text-book. I copied them out before I came here, and they were all quoted.[4] I began at [A.D.] 418. Can anybody explain why it was that when the Pelagian heresy arose, on a grave doctrinal point—why was it the Councils of Milevi and Carthage condemned Pelagianism? Why did they sit down and say, "We must send that to the Pope of Rome?" [Innocent I]. They did so, and I have his letter in my pocket (laughter). If you like I will read it. "You have," the Pope wrote, "done perfectly well"—I translate as I go—"in sending to me at the See of Peter, from whom the four episcopates and the whole authority of the episcopate is derived." From this Church all the Churches derived their authority. He goes on, a page further, "Especially when it is a question of the faith you know as well as I know, dearly beloved brethren and fellow-bishops throughout the world, that it is only to Peter you have to go." "We know in Peter what to praise in doctrine and what to condemn." The word Infallibility is not used, but the thing is there, and I ask in the name of Heaven, what are you going to do about it? If there is no final decision upon whether Jesus Christ

was God and Man or only a good man, as to Easter, and what baptism means, where are you? That is our Catholic position.

C.: I am sorry I disappointed Fr. Pope, but he has not disappointed me. You will understand now what you did not understand quite fully when I read the report of the debate ten days ago. Fr. Pope has incidentally confirmed what I suggested, that philosophically Roman Catholics argue in a circle. He looks upon it as conclusive that Innocent I in a letter asserted his own *supremacy:* not *Infallibility*, nothing like it. For a man to assert his own supremacy is conclusive!

P.: For a man to assert his own supremacy and find the whole Catholic Church accepted it,[5] and that the Church in Africa which wrote to him accepted it! I took you back to St. Irenaeus in the second century; now I come to another one.

C.: Listen carefully and see if there is a word in what Fr. Pope reads, about *Infallibility*; or anything beyond a statement of one person as to the superiority of one person over another. In your own minds think what Infallibility means, and ask how near that brings us to it.

P.: By Infallibility we mean inability to err when the Pope or the Church is defining a doctrine of faith and morals to be adopted by the whole world. Here is St. Jerome; he has had many rows with the Pope, when the Arian question came on the scene. What was it? Here were people who said the second Person of the Blessed Trinity was not the same in the Godhead as God the Father. That is a grave question. What I want to ask you is, why does Jerome write to the Pope and say, "Settle this problem. I ought to consult the Church of Peter for the good of my soul. It is to the successor of the Fisherman that I speak. I follow nobody but Christ." What does he mean when he writes to the Pope and says, "Define the doctrine"?

C.: I must come to a more definite answer than I have yet given. You say in one place that, though the word Infallibility was not used, the thing was recognised, and *that there was an absolute chain through the centuries that Rome was the final authority*. You say again in other words practically the same thing. I must answer as I did ten days ago, that *you have said the thing that is not.*[5] It is evident that on more than one occasion this evening you and I were contradicting each other flatly. I am not going to do as you did, and silence you. I am going to say: If you take that as an issue and if you dispute it, if you will argue with me, under cross-examination, that "all down the centuries Papal Infallibility was recognised," I will give you space to state your case in the pamphlet which will contain this report.

P.: Oh, I'll not write a word.

C.: That is what I knew.

P.: I won't write a word, first of all, because I am much too busy a man (laughter). Secondly, because there is no need to write a word; it is in any manual you wish to get.

C.: There I say, *you are saying a thing that is not.*

P.: Go and get *de Grote.*

C.: Why do you not name *Ryder*?

P.: He has not written on the Church: I say, "in any manual of the Church which you will find in any priest's house." I was staying with a friendly priest, and I went down to find *De Ecclesia*. And there I found this.

C.: You found the difficulty that the Pope had not decided the Nicaean questions? the question of baptism? or the Monothelite controversy? or that Constance decided against him? or that Bossuet decided against him?

P.: You will find all this in *de Grote,* and others; I cannot think of them all. We have others in every country, and they contain things concerning that country. I do say, right down the centuries you find the evidence. I am not prepared to say in every century or every decade I could put my finger upon it, but I do say: If you can find two things like those I have mentioned you have to explain them. You do not want the whole chain, but you have to explain all these. I find that the supremacy belongs to the Roman Catholic Church.

C.: Is it not mentioned that others are recognised with it? In the 9th canon of Nicaea, is it said that the primacy belongs to Rome, in so many words?[6]

P.: I will look it up.

The CHAIRMAN: We ought to define the word "supremacy."

P.: To do that I should go straight to St. Cyprian. Here I have got to do a delicate thing. I think Dr. Coulton was radically wrong [in his lecture] with regard to St. Cyprian. The point is, he was martyred in 259. Now, then, he was made bishop in 248; he had been a pagan a few years before. Before his martyrdom, two years before, there was a Council, and Cyprian said, "I think when heretics come back to the Church they ought to be re-baptised. That," he said, "was not always the doctrine, and many of you won't agree with me." He said, "You are perfectly free, *you* hold what you like; *I* hold they should be re-baptised." What happened? Pope Stephen wrote to him at once from Rome. What did Stephen say? He said, "I forbid you to do that." Infallibility does not touch that, it is neither doctrine nor

morals. Infallibility does not touch it. Cyprian obeyed. Dr. Coulton said that St. Augustine settled it after 200 years; but no. St. Augustine went back to it; but to deal with a totally different question.

ONE IN THE AUDIENCE: Is this concerned with the primacy of the Church?

The CHAIRMAN: It is not really, but we are anxious not to stop opponents from speaking.

P.: I did not mean to intrude. But to go back. The point is that [Pope] Stephen never defined anything, but forbade it. When Manning was Cardinal he had meetings at Westminster Hall. At one meeting a question was asked about Cyprian and the episcopate. They all got into difficulties. An old priest got up and said, "I can't understand why you are worried about his views about the episcopate. He was a pagan only five years before, like Manning here." Cyprian, he said, had to be a martyr before he could purge it.

P.: [A colleague of Fr. Pope having tried to look up the passage in the Canon of Nicaea the wording of which had been challenged by Dr. Coulton, handed the book back to Dr. Pope, who said] The Canon; that's it. "*Omnes concedunt primatum Romae*," or words to that effect.[6] [But he did not read from the book handed to him; he quoted from memory.]

The CHAIRMAN: It is in Latin, then?

C.: I do want to get at one or two facts. You say Cyprian said, "*You* are perfectly free to hold what you like. *I* think they ought to be baptised." You assert definitely that Cyprian granted to everybody freedom in Christ to do what they liked.

P.: I say that, in the Council Cyprian held at Carthage in 246, it was openly debated, and the majority were with Cyprian, but not all.

C.: You spoke of Cyprian's *letters*.

P.: I spoke of that, but I also spoke of the letters. In Books 6 and 7:—It is in Latin.

C.: You said St. Cyprian's *letters*.

P : It is not his letters.

C : But you *did* say "Cyprian's letters."

P.: I did when I was talking of [Pope] Stephen.

C : Yes, and you said he [Cyprian] said everybody was free.

P : No, I said in the Council, Cyprian proposed that heretics should be re-baptised, and he acknowledged it was not the original custom in Africa, but the necessities were great; and many,—not all, but a large majority—were with

him. Now we come to Cyprian's letter, and when Pope Stephen forbade it, he [Cyprian] obeyed.

C : There is another point to catechise you on.

P : Would it not be better to explain Irenaeus and Jerome?

C : Is there any orthodox Catholic who thinks the writing of *one* Catholic Father *is decisive?*

P : No.

C : That is how I explain Irenaeus (laughter). What is the next point?

P.: I ask you to explain to us why it is, if the Church of Rome is not infallible, that Jerome asks the Pope to define as to the Trinity, and why the Pope claims the supremacy and everybody admits it. And other Popes have been doing the same thing.

C.: You think others are foolish not to see this same thing. [It seems to me you say, from the thing you are asserting, that the conclusion you arrive at is correct.][7]

P.: That is not my point. You take us on history, and I say to that you shall go. I have given you Irenaeus, and Nicaea,[6] and Jerome, and I have given you Cyprian, and I ask you as a historian why they did that.

C.: I say, not one of them speaks of Papal *Infallibility*, or says anything that amounts to Papal Infallibility.

P.: Let me repeat the definition. What is the definition of the Vatican Council? The Pope is said to be infallible when he defines truth and morals.

C.: No, continue it.

P.: "When the Pope defines."

C.: Continue it. Let me read it.

P.: You read it before. "—when he speaks *ex cathedra*."

C.: [Why did it occur to nobody that there was that until the seventeenth century. . . . (Here Fr. Pope interrupted, and Dr. Coulton said to the Chairman, "I appeal to you.")]

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to hear the sentences out.[8]

C.: How is it that, since everything depends upon this *ex cathedra*, nobody thought of the definition of *ex cathedra* till the seventeenth century? and even in 1870 the most distinguished theologians were fighting with each other as to what constituted it? and nobody now knows whether the Syllabus [of Pius IX] was *ex cathedra* or not?

ONE OF THE AUDIENCE: I suggest that Dr. Coulton is avoiding and not explaining Fr. Pope's quotations.

Professor Whitney: Might we have the whole quotation from St. Irenaeus, and the other Churches to which he appeals, as well as Rome?

P.: It *is* an appeal to the other Churches.

Professor Whitney: I have the passage in my mind. St. Irenaeus is speaking about heresies, and he tells people they can go to the great centres of Christianity, and it is in that connection that he appeals to Rome.

The CHAIRMAN: And may I add that the particular thing he appeals to Rome on is this. St. Irenaeus was dealing with people who had new theories of Christianity, Valentinus and others of that sort, and he said, "Did the Apostles teach this sort of thing?" and he says, "I will go to Rome, which was founded in the time of the Apostles, and the succession of the presidents of that Church is known." He gives them in a list, and he says, "And what does this Church of Rome accept?" The answer is, they accept Matthew, Mark, Luke and John; and Irenaeus, having pointed out that these have been accepted in that Church, which at least has had a continuous existence since the time of the Apostles, takes Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, and points out that there is no Valentinianism in either of them.

One of the audience having come forward and laid upon the platform Mirbt's *Quellen*, Dr. Coulton said to Fr. Pope: I have found the quotation you referred to [from the 6th Canon of Nicaea]. It is in Greek, and it does not contain what has been said [by you].[9]

ONE OF THE AUDIENCE: I repeat that no answer has been given to Fr. Pope.

C.: Fr. Pope has read nothing which implies *Infallibility*.

ONE OF THE AUDIENCE: You are not giving the explanation for which he asks.

C.: What can be more conclusive than to explain to him that even taking all his words at their face value, there is nothing in them that implies *Infallibility?*

ONE OF THE AUDIENCE: I do not agree they do not.

C.: Will you explain, then? Will you explain where the infallibility is?

P.: May I interrupt again?

C.: No, sir.

P.: You should give *your* explanation.

C.: But if a man wishes to prove a thing is infallible he has to bring in the word "infallibility," or something which implies it.

P.: Jerome says, "Define the doctrine of the Trinity."

C.: But, sir, *I* can define, but do you imagine *me* to be infallible? (laughter).

P.: But surely as a historian, if you find a series of passages all of which seems to imply *prima facie* that that See

has the power of telling people what is the real truth of Christ, you have got it there.

C.: But you have *not* got it there. I have offered you room [to write] in what I am going to print.

P.: I must quarrel with what he [Dr. Coulton] said about Pope Honorius. He said he held wrong views on the Monothelite heresy and the Council condemned it.

C.: I have not said he *held* wrong views. Hefele, while admitting that Honorius condemned the Catholic view and put in something which implied a heretical view, still said he was *thinking* correctly while he was *writing* heretically.

P.: With regard to the Council of Constantinople condemning him, what are the facts? You have him [Sergius] writing to the Pope and asking his advice as to the best terms to use. The Pope's first reply is, "That is a grammatical question; I leave you to the grammarian." It is true the Council of Constantinople condemned Honorius. Why? For neglecting the defence of the faith. But I must stop. I am not well, and am rather worn out.

C.: Are you prepared to deny that Honorius's letters were *ex cathedra*?

P.: Yes.

C.: You are in conflict with Hefele.[10]

[Fr. Pope, walking away, intimated his indifference to Hefele's judgment, and Dr. Coulton congratulated him on his equanimity under that adverse verdict.]

Dr. A. A. ROBB: As one far removed from being a Roman Catholic but who likes fair play, I ask whether there is not a maxim of English law to the effect that "The King can do no wrong," and whether the principle of Infallibility, in some form or other, is not usually put forward as a theoretical basis by those who claim to rule by sovereign rights?

C.: I thank you for the question. It seems to me an exact parallel. It is a maxim in English law, and in practice we know nobody would cavil at it. It simply means—it is a a pious expression—we want to obey the King as much as we can; and, if all the Roman Catholics said, "We want to obey the Pope as much as we can, as we think he has more influence, more right, than anybody else," that is understandable. But it is a long way from that to Infallibility.

ANOTHER QUESTIONER: Does Dr. Coulton admit that those Christians who accept the doctrine of Infallibility have retained unity, and belief in the supernatural character of the Christian revelation, whilst those who reject it are acknowledged to be drifting into a state of chaos and largely abandoning the dogmas of historic Christianity? And would this be

what was to be expected if the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope was an assumption based on false history and acquiesced in by convinced opponents from motives of self interest? I gathered you [Dr. Coulton] intended to convey that a certain number of those who agreed in opposing Infallibility gave in their adherence rather than lose their positions—and so, for self-interest.

C.: I say it is impossible to separate altogether self-interest from much higher things. There is no doubt that the Roman Catholics do present a more united front than others. But a very able and honest Roman Catholic, Fr. Duggan, parish priest of Maidstone, wrote a book on *Obstacles to Unity*, or words to that effect.[11] The book is now on the Index. Everybody admits the piety of the man. He says, the apparent union of Roman Catholics is to a great extent superficial; they cling together in face of adversaries, but are much divided among themselves. But there is no question that they have more unity than others, and Infallibility tends to increase that. But let me ask you whether that is altogether the advantage it seems at first sight. Is it Ezekiel or Jeremiah who says, "A horrible and wonderful thing is committed in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means; and my people love to have it so"? I do not want to apply all that [quotation] to what I am saying. But, when we talk of the advantage of unity, there is a very important question behind it—are we united for right or for wrong? It is better to be disunited and striving for the right than to be united on a wrong basis. I can illustrate that in this way: it is boasted by the Roman Catholics, and with truth, that they are almost the only Church which at the present moment insists on the reality of Hell, the flames of Hell. Is that an entire advantage?

Q. Is not that a question whether it was in the original revelation, and all Christians were supposed to accept it?

C.: Yes, and I say distinctly it is *not*. It is perfectly possible to read Christ's words without going as far as that; and I say also that what has made the Roman Catholic Church cling to it is the extent to which it [the Roman Catholic Church] has always committed itself to the literal truth of every word in the Bible except so far as it can be explained in one of three ways—in the first place when, through the weakness of language, it seems to be a mis-statement; secondly, through the weakness of uncultivated hearers of revealed truth, and thirdly, when the language is symbolical. This was laid down by St. Thomas Aquinas. But, except for these three possibilities, we must take every statement absolutely

literally, and if we deny that Samuel was the son of Elkanah and say that he was the son of some other man; or if we deny that the Garden of Eden existed geographically, and that there was in it botanically a tree of good and evil, then we are heretics! [Such is the teaching of Aquinas.] It is that attitude which has helped their unity, and makes them insist on the material flames of Hell, and things of that kind, though we others do not.

R.: St. Augustine says we must understand the distinction between things and signs. A thing is that which is a thing distinct from anything else, a sign is something which is a sign of something else. The Bible falls among signs. He goes on to say the literal interpretation is always the true one. The tradition St. Thomas Aquinas inherits is that the Bible is literally true, and the literal meaning is always the divine meaning. Very often, besides the literal meaning, there is further significance, figurative meanings of different kinds in different passages, but the literal meaning of every passage as an intelligent reader will understand it is always the meaning of Scripture; so that, according to St. Thomas's exposition, if an intelligent reader reading the passages which refer to Hell would honestly conclude that it did *not* mean a fire, according to St. Thomas's method of exegesis the literal meaning would *not* be a fire; but if, by a literal reading, he would take it to mean a fire, then St. Thomas said it would literally mean a fire. On grounds of reason as well as of faith we read the Bible as St. Thomas reads it, to mean material fire.

C.: I have said nothing to contradict that, and you have not met my main point. St. Thomas says, if we deny Samuel and the Garden of Eden then we are heretics.

R.: I do not remember the passage.

C.: I think I could give you the reference exactly, because a Dominican, who recently criticised me, Fr. McNabb, said it was a pity I left out one "x," and in correcting me, he left out two "i's" twice (laughter). I think it is in the *Pars Prima*, question xxxii, article about 5, I think. I will send it to you.

R.: It is important to remember what the *name* of the passage is. It is a question of what St. Thomas is talking about.

C.: But are not all the headings modern? He did not put any headings there himself.

R.: May I have the privilege of sending to you proof that all the headings are his own?

C.: I am glad to hear that. I was attacked once for saying one of the headings was authoritative.

The QUESTIONER who had preceded Rev. J. B. Reeves: May I stress one part of my question, that the Church's doctrine of Infallibility has maintained the historical dogmas of Christianity?

C.: I think many would think you were right; but I think the Roman Catholic Church has *not* kept the historical doctrine of Christianity; I think other denominations have kept more strictly to it than the Roman Catholic Church. I am sorry Fr. Pope is not here now; I think everybody would agree we gave him a free run. He spoke of the necessity of having somebody to tell us whether Christ was the Son of God or not—somebody authoritative. He emphasised the absolute necessity of having somebody.

R.: He put it like this. "If we cannot appeal to somebody on earth for certainty regarding that, where are we?" Those were his words.

C.: We are, I say, exactly where our Lord's Disciples were. When St. John's disciples went to our Lord they said, "Art thou He, that should come, or do we look for another?" His answer purposely left them to their own conscience and to find out for themselves.

R.: You are referring to the time when Christ was on the earth. But Catholics do it because they cannot get direct contact with our Lord.

C.: But He definitely laid down to you that your conscience must guide you.

R.: But does Roman Catholicism deny all liberty to human conscience?

C.: Not *all*. But read Mr. Belloc's article in a recent *Listener*—Mr. Belloc, whom the Editor introduced as the acknowledged protagonist of the Roman Catholic Church—and you will see how much they are allowed to use their conscience and how far infallibility relieves you from using your conscience.

R.: If you are satisfied with Infallibility, your allegiance to that is enough.

C.: The question is, whether it does not relieve you of something.

R.: Obviously there is a divine revelation made which is to be of importance to future generations of the human race. It seems an absolutely necessary thing that such a source of information should be provided.

C.: You began by pleading it as an advantage to the Roman Catholic Church that there *were* difficulties, and now you are pleading it as an advantage that there are *not* difficulties.

R.: But you say it relieves the individual of difficulties which those who do not grant it have in arriving at a belief. I take it that is [meant by you as] an objection, but I should submit that it is an advantage.

C.: There is a point, surely, with everybody, in which we stop thinking; where, the harder we think, the more our mind's eye gets bleared, as it were, and we cannot pursue it any further.

R.: I agree.

C.: Then what I think is this. Up to *that* point, the highest religion is one that does not forbid thought, so long as the individual in his own conscience believes he is thinking according to his light.

R.: I see what you mean, but I am not aware that the Catholic religion does forbid thought beyond the truth of actual revelation.

C.: There again, we have the assurances of Fr. Knox and Messrs. Chesterton and Belloc. I have dealt with this in an article in the current *Nineteenth Century*, in which I admit that those men have some liberty, the liberty of a bluebottle in an inn parlour. He runs up and down the window; he flies round our heads; and I believe there are many people who have that liberty that the bluebottle has to fly round, and they are perfectly happy with it. But there are some people, some bluebottles, who are not satisfied with that liberty and who want to get into the open air, at the risk of being snapped up by a swallow, which they prefer to the risk of the spider's web or the sticky fly-trap on the ceiling.

R.: But does not the acceptance of any truth limit freedom?

C.: Everybody must be limited to a certain extent; but this [that I speak of] is a wider limitation. So long as other things are equal, the less limitation the better.

R.: My point is, if you accept the truth of Christian revelation as such, I do not see it debars the freedom of exercising liberty except in the matter in which you do accept this truth. That belief limits you to the extent to which you hold it to be true.

C.: But at the same time, what assurance of truth have you, unless you have thought over the question from different points or view? You have only the assurance that you believe somebody else.

R.: But if you accept the authority of the Church as being reasonably proved, I do not see that it involves a limitation of liberty.

C.: But, being born and bred a Roman Catholic, it is

sinful of you to look into that [question of Church authority] with an open mind. Surely you acknowledge that.

R.: No, I deny that. You must not look into it with *a prejudiced mind*, but with an *open* mind.

C.: You deny that you are forbidden to look into it with an open mind? My assertion is that a born Roman Catholic, in considering the question of the Church or Infallibility, is bound to enquire into it, but only to enquire *how* it can be true, and not with any balance of judgment *whether* it can be true or not.

R.: But the very articles in St. Thomas Aquinas all begin with the word "Whether."

C.: But will you enquire into it and answer *Yes* or *No*?

R.: What do you mean by "a balance of judgment"?

C.: I should have thought it was sufficiently explained by my other words. My assertion is that you are bound—I can put it personally to you? [Fr. Reeves nodded assent]—you are bound, in considering the question of the Church, not to consider *whether* the Roman Church is the true Church, but only to consider *how* it can be true that the Roman Catholic Church is *the* true Church.

R.: No, sir: I am bound by the very education I have had, which has been the gift of the Roman Catholic Church—I am bound in virtue of that education to ask that question, but not with any bias, not as a sceptic asks.

C.: I think that happy phrase, "not with any bias," exactly fits our enquiry. [Here followed an exchange of words too rapid to be taken down, in which the disputants referred to St. Thomas's and Leo XIII's pronouncements concerning the duty of research on the part of Roman Catholics, but differed as to the Saint's and the Pope's exact words and intentions.]

R.: In your very introduction you said you did not quarrel with Catholics except in so far as they denied access of non-Catholics to the Throne of God. I have never seen any such denial made. I do not know exactly what you were getting at.

C.: That was why I put in those prefatory words. When I talk intimately with Roman Catholics (and I have sometimes done so), I find we are to a great extent in agreement with each other very often. But there are points on which we are unable to come to the same opinion, and these points are nearly always what you will find in professional books of Roman Catholic controversy, but things which are ignored by the congregation, and by the parish priest if he is a reasonable man.

R.: But I don't think you will find that in any books of authority. I have read a good many, and I have never seen any statement like that made.

C.: A Roman Catholic has very kindly given me Karl Adam's *Spirit of Catholicism*. You will find he says something there very much like what you say; but he has all the difficulty in the world in reconciling that with real Roman Catholic teaching. Unless you reduce that motto "without the Church, there is no salvation"—*extra ecclesiam nulla salus*—to a mere absurdity, unless you say you use these words (like the words about Infallibility) in the sense of the words: "The King can do no wrong," then it is an assertion that a man has a greater chance of getting to Heaven as a Roman Catholic.

R.: He has the shortest cut, certainly. But a man must be judged by his conscience ultimately, and by his opportunity.

C.: But if you take a thousand Roman Catholics and a thousand non-Roman Catholics, the chances are that a greater number of Roman Catholics will go to Heaven than the others?

R.: The thousand Roman Catholics have got a better opportunity, no doubt.

C.: If you agree with what I say, then, you must say that either the Roman Catholics make worse use of their opportunities than other men, or that a greater number of Roman Catholics than outsiders go to heaven.

R.: It all depends on the meaning of "outsiders." Many of them might be inside "the Church."

C.: But you realise, I suppose, that that is a concession to modern civilisation? In a sense you are there contradicting the Syllabus [of Pius IX] and making a concession to modern civilisation.

R.: I am not a historian; but, if everybody accepted the assertion as you have accepted it, I think the Roman Catholic Church would have had a very thin time of it.

C.: I am afraid it is only since the Catholic Church has been obliged to make concessions to civilisation. (I said just now "the Catholic Church"; I ought to have said "The *Roman* Catholic Church" (applause). I used that title advisedly instead of the other, because I have the latest authority, the latest Index. In the introduction to the Index the Cardinal tells us we must all obey "the *Roman* Catholic Church.") This Church has only made that interpretation of those words [*extra ecclesiam nulla salus*] in these later years, when she has been unable to force people to the faith; and though, in the latest edition of Canon Law, 1917, it is written "no one is to be forced to accept the faith," yet that is in direct

contradiction to authoritative Church pronouncements [of earlier times].

R.: But that is not true to history, though there have been cases where over-anxious zealots have forced people to be baptised. You know the teaching of St. Thomas on Jews?

C.: Yes, I know his teaching on the baptism of Jews, and on the burning of heretics. At the end of a lecture on the Inquisition by Fr. Bede Jarrett, I pointed out to the lecturer how St. Thomas, starting certain premises and arguments, arrives at the conclusion that it is the duty of Christians to burn Nonconformists, so long as they are impenitent. I said to Fr. Jarrett, "St. Thomas arrives at that conclusion. Do you? Do you escape from that conclusion by repudiating his premises, or what argument do you bring to invalidate St. Thomas's arguments?" and Fr. Jarrett said, "I do not choose to answer that question; the discussion is now at an end."

R.: I may be allowed to refer to a parallel case. St. Thomas, talking of truth, is pointing out that truth is as vital to the soul of man as air to the body, and more so. He discusses the question of those false teachers; his positive doctrine is that teaching is not cramming information into a man, but forming the mind. He gets on to the question of a master who is poisoning his pupils, and he asks how society is to be protcted against these masters who use their position to poison the minds of people. His answer was the same as yours would be as to the treatment of a teacher who turned on the gas to his disciples and poisoned them all.

C.: You remember the 11th Article of St. Thomas in the *Secunda Secundae*. Which of the premises from which he starts are you prepared to deny, or which of his arguments do you disagree with?

R.: This is the first time I have had the pleasure of meeting you, but I did read a discussion of yours on the question of St. Thomas, and I am sure it would be perfectly useless for you and me to enter into a discussion of St. Thomas on any particular passage. I said—and it was not unpleasantly meant—that your native intelligence was average; that was meant to be a compliment. But partly on account of education, and what I should consider in this case limitations in you, in habits of mind, I do not think you are capable of doing justice to an isolated passage of St. Thomas. I do not think you have power to see the background of philosophy and metaphysics against which principles must be placed.

C.: I have, twice every term, discussion-meetings in my room, and the rule has been that anybody may say anything to anybody else so long as he means it; that is our "Rule 40" as in *Alice in Wonderland*. In that sense I welcome everything you have said here, and I pray you to pardon anything that might seem discourteous in whatever I may have said. I entirely see your point. I have philosophical friends (I am without pretence of philosophy myself) who have a high regard for St. Thomas's philosophy, and I know I must tread with great caution when I try to expound his meaning; but on certain points of obvious morality and conduct it does seem to me that what he writes is open to the intelligence of the average person.

ANOTHER QUESTIONER: Would you accept that Christ founded a teaching Church?

C.: No, I should not.

QUESTIONER: How do you explain, reading the Scripture literally, the passage, "Go and *teach* all nations"?

The CHAIRMAN: "*Make disciples of* all nations."

QUESTIONER: How do you explain that? After all, "make disciples" is another term for "teach"?

C.: At present I am lecturing on the Franciscans, and there is no doubt they formed, at a certain time, a recognised Order; but it seems to me it was formed rather *against* the wishes of St. Francis than *in accordance* with his wishes. It was one of his greatest trials that they converted so many people that they were obliged to make an organisation, which was not in his mind at first.

QUESTIONER: Then you do not think Christ formed a teaching Church. If that is so, where is the authority?

C.: The authority is the conscience God has given to men.

QUESTIONER: But that is only your opinion.

C.: But didn't I say I was not infallible? I am one of those on whom Mr. Belloc pours contempt; I have only "opinions," whereas you and he, no doubt, have "knowledge."

ANOTHER QUESTIONER: Would you quote that canon of the Council of Nicaea which is supposed to be a statement of Roman supremacy?

C.: I have only the Greek. My Classical Tripos is forty-nine years old. I can read it sufficiently plainly for myself, but I think I will ask Professor Burkitt.

The CHAIRMAN: I will read it first to myself.

C.: (While Professor Burkitt was silently reading to himself). It seems to me, from my reading of it, that it exactly bears out what was my recollection of Nicaea. Three Churches (it says) were supreme over the rest, Rome, Alexandria, and

Antioch, and Rome is mentioned first of the three. But we shall have in the [stenographer's] report the exact words to which Fr. Pope committed himself, and my impression is that these are not the words you will find there [in the actual 6th Canon of Nicaea].

The CHAIRMAN: This is headed, by the editor, "Council at Nicaea." It reads: "The separate placing of the bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, and Jerusalem, the ancient customs in Egypt and Pentapolis, so that the Bishop of Alexandria shall have the authority for all these, since this is also usual for the Bishop in Rome. Similarly also that of Antioch and other provinces, according to the ancient custom to be kept in the Churches, for this is evident everywhere that, if any one should become a bishop without the consent of the Metropolitan, the Great Synod agrees that such a one ought not to be a bishop. If anybody, by the common consent of all, he being worthy and an ecclesiastic suitable according to the canons 1, 2, and 3, through private jealousy speak against him, let the choice of the majority be confirmed." That is all.

[Nobody ventured to dispute this translation, or to defend the interpolated Latin words on which Fr. Pope had relied. Then the Chairman continued.]

I am not sure whether a powerful lady called "Dora" does not drive us out at 11.30. I do not wish to stop anyone asking questions even now, but it is past 11.30. Are there any more questions?

I do not know that it would be fitting to close with a prayer, because we are not of one mind; but let us at least thank God that we have been able to sit these long hours and dispute on important matters on which we hold differing but sincere and strong views, and that we are able to part good friends and without quarrel. I say, let us thank God for it (applause).

NOTES ON THE FOREGOING DISCUSSION

[1] I am informed by several who were present that Dr. Pope was all this time sitting and listening amid a Roman Catholic group at the back of the hall. That being so, I have a right to emphasize the fact that he made no attempt, at this point, to support Fr. Reeves's criticism of my interpretation of Fr. Pope's words at his own lecture.

[2] Here is the reporter's account of the dialogue between the undergraduate and Fr. Pope at the latter's lecture. There are points at which the reporter has not been able to catch the exact words; but he scarcely exaggerates the confusion with which Fr. Pope answered, and the difficulty of following any thread of consecutive thought in his words, until he came to his last speech, which, as the questioner truly complained, simply evaded the whole question.

"A QUESTIONER: Can you explain, on logical or philosophical grounds, how by an Infallible pronouncement the Church of Rome pronounces itself to be Infallible?

Fr. POPE: That is the best question we have had. That is what you call a specious argument. On the fact of it, it looks irresistible—it looks as though it were.

The QUESTIONER: It is a question, not an argument.

Fr. POPE: What is the question? How could the Infallible Church pronounce itself to be Infallible?

The QUESTIONER: How could the Church, by an Infallible pronouncement, pronounce itself to be Infallible?

Fr. POPE: Is it really different—by an Infallible pronouncement?

The QUESTIONER: Are you prepared to allow *that* to stand as the Roman Church's final answer to anyone who wants a logical and philosophical answer? I was merely pointing out that, by the form of pronouncement, the Roman Church was begging the question entirely.

Fr. POPE: How can an Infallible Church, by an Infallible pronoucement, declare itself to be Infallible?

The QUESTIONER: I do not admit that as my question.

Fr. POPE: For the purposes of argument I am not concerned as to whether the Church is or is not Infallible. I want to know how it can pronounce, by an Infallible pronouncement, that it is Infallible?

The QUESTIONER: It is merely begging the whole question.

Fr. POPE: So elementary is it! (laughter). The whole point is so elementary that those who framed the Infallibility position thought of that. It must surely have been faced! How is it that the Church of God pronounces her own Infallibility? You could answer in a sentence—because she is the Body of Christ, because, as her own constitution clearly says, "I am Divine, my Head is Divine, Jesus Christ, and He has promised me His Holy Spirit. I can define everything. God has promised that His Holy Spirit will guide me into all truth." There is no false logic in that.

The QUESTIONER: I still do not feel my question answered. You have confined yourself to the religious side and entirely avoided the philosophical and logical implications."

[Fr. Pope made no reply; with this the whole meeting ended. I went up to him as he left the platform, and begged him to look at the quotation from Bishop Baines which he had not allowed me to read; he refused to do so. I offered it to the younger Dominican who had supported Fr. Pope on the platform; then, to two or three of the Roman Catholic undergraduates who were pressing round their champions; all refused even to look at the book.—G. G. C.]

[3] It seems scarcely necessary to point out that all history is against this assertion "You find the *thing*, Infallibility." And, even apart from this pure fiction of Fr. Pope's, it will be obvious that he evades the difficulty of the absence of the *word*. Infallibility is, after all, a very simple idea; the thing, according to Fr. Pope, is one of the greatest of divinely revealed truths; why did Christendom live a thousand years or more without coining a plain word to express this plain thing? As a Classical Tutor remarked to me on leaving the hall, Aeronautics and similar sciences are continually confronted with new discoveries, and each thing is at once baptised with a clearly distinctive name; otherwise, a few weeks would reduce research to hopeless confusion. A science in which the idea of Infallibility can be conveyed no more clearly than by "there has been observed the tradition of the Apostles," is no science at all. Still greater, if possible, is the gap between Fr. Pope's succeeding definition "Rome is the final authority in things of faith," and Infallibility. Human nature being what it is, even when touched by Grace, the world is full of final authorities which are far from infallible. It is one of the many logical deceptions in Romanism, under its pretence of rigorous logic, that on the one hand it argues with mathematical precision from Infallibility and, on the other, shrinks so consistently from defining the idea with any approach to precision. Pagan Rome possessed the idea already, though nobody dreamed of applying it to any human being. Apuleius, however (about 170 A.D.), speaks of the sun as pursuing an *inerrabilis* course. If, therefore, even by that date, it had dawned upon the Christian consciousness that the world possessed any infallible judge, here was this existent word *inerrabilis* ready to hand, without even the labour of inserting a possibly not-yet-existent word *infallibilis*.

[4] I here append the Latin text of the passages which Fr. Pope paraphrases, from Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. XXXIII, Coll. 780ff (Innocent I's letters to the Council of Carthage and to the five African bishops, printed as Nos. 181, 182 among St. Augustine's *Letters*).

"Vera ratione firmastis qui ad nostrum referendum approbastis esse judicium, scientes quid apostolicae Sedi, cum omnes hoc loco positi ipsum sequi desideremus apostolum, debeatur, a quo ipse episcopatus et tota auctoritas nominis hujus emersit. Quem sequentes, tam mala damnare novimus quam probare laudanda."

"Praesertim quoties fidei ratio ventilatur, arbitor omnes fratres et coepiscopos nostros, nonnisi ad Petrum, id est, sui nominis et honoris auctorem referre debere."

These are thus translated by the Roman Catholic C. F. B. Allnatt, in his *Cathedra Petri* (3rd ed., pp. 103 ff.). Innocent praises the Council of Carthage because "You have established in an undeniable manner the firmness of your religion, no less now in consulting (us) than when you previously passed sentence; approving, as you have done, of a reference to our judgment, knowing what is due to the Apostolic See, since all we who are set in this place desire to follow that apostle from whom the very Episcopate and all the authority of this title sprung; following whom, we both know how to condemn what is evil and to approve of what is commendable." Again: "Especially as often as matters of faith are under discussion, I am of opinion that all our brethren and fellow-bishops ought only to refer to Peter, that is, to the author of their name and honour."

It is possible that "the four episcopates" was Fr. Pope's reference to the four rivals of Rome, viz. Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople; more probably, perhaps, it is a reporter's error, and

Fr. Pope actually said "the whole episcopate." But my memory definitely supports the reporter as to Fr. Pope's having used the words "*You know as well as I know*, dearly beloved brethren," etc.; I can even see the rhetorical flourish of his right hand at the moment, while his left hand held the book. He thus turned a sentence of pure self-assertion on Innocent's part into an assertion of notorious truth; and this proceeding is quite characteristic. He seems not to have the least idea of rigorous exactitude even on crucial points.

[5] In the discussion following Fr. Pope's own lecture, he had made this same sweeping pronouncement, and had taken no notice of my interjection from my seat that this was a plain assertion of "the thing that is not." See the later passage here which I mark with this same number.[5]

[6] These two passages are most significant. The colleague did not commit himself to anything; he simply handed the book back; it is Fr. Pope who bears the whole responsibility of asserting that the 6th canon contains these words. His reference is to the sentence "Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum," which no historian would dream of accepting as genuine except under the most pressing controversial temptations. The truth as to this interpolation may be found in a monumental work by a great Catholic scholar, Professor F. Maassen of Gratz, *Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts*, 1870. The canons of the Council of Nicaea were, of course, drawn up in Greek, in which language the discussions had been conducted. No Greek manuscript contains the words; and the ablest Romanist apologists practically ignore them. Hefele, for instance, whose *History of the Councils* is the standard work of the Roman Church, writes: "It is evident that the Council has not in view here the primacy of the Bishop of Rome over the whole Church, but simply his power as a patriarch [of the West]" and again: "It is evident that this canon cannot be used to demonstrate the primacy of the Pope"; again: "It must not, lastly, be overlooked that the Bishop of Rome did not exercise in an equal degree, over the whole West, the *full* rights of a patriarch; for in several provinces simple bishops were ordained without his consent" (Eng. translation, Vol. I, pp. 394, 397, 401). He does indeed add, "In some ancient translations, the canon begins with the words, *Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum*, and this variation is also to be found in the *Prisca*" (which was another translation). But Maassen shows that all these interpolated versions come from Italy. The Latin version by Caecilian, who was himself present at Nicaea, agrees with the Greek; so does the next oldest (the "Gallo Spanish") and the next (the "Gallic") and the next again (the "Isidorian"). The earliest date, apparently, at which the interpolation can be traced is 451 A.D., 126 years after Nicaea. The Jesuit Cardinal Perrone, who exercised a sort of dictatorship in theology at Rome in Newman's day, ignores it entirely (F. W. Puller, *Primitive Saints, etc.*, 1893, p. 278). Even the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* ignores the interpolation, summarising thus: "Canon VI, Concerning Patriarchs and their jurisdiction" (Vol. XI, p. 45). It is only apologists of Fr. Pope's stamp who cling to this discredited forgery, as one of their last straws. Yet, even so, it is difficult to understand how Fr. Pope, under contradiction, should have given his audience no hint whatever that the words he was quoting had always been (to say the least) vehemently questioned by scholars. This, however, like a good deal more which took place in our discussion, is a problem rather for the psychologist than for the historian.

[7] The reporter has here broken down. What I said was, in effect, this:—"It seems to me you say that the only possible interpretation of those words, for a sane man, is the thing which you are now asserting, and that the conclusion you yourself arrive at is indisputably correct."

If Fr. Pope had really answered this, instead of replying "That is not my point," and then going off on another track, I had then intended to remind him that this "self-evident" conclusion of his, this conclusion of Infallibility which (he argues) follows inevitably from the things rehearsed in his last speech ("I ask you" down to "the same thing") was, in fact, flatly denied by far greater scholars and thinkers than himself, for generations at least, in Roman Catholic France and Germany; moreover, that this their denial was backed up by documentary evidence, which Fr. Pope and his brother apologists steadily ignore. Therefore, to call the conclusion self-evident, and to condemn as foolish or blind those who cannot see it, is either ignorance or extraordinary arrogance.

[8] The portion here bracketed represents a reconstitution of the actual discussion which the Chairman has read carefully and signed as correct. The reporter, naturally enough, finding his notes confused as to the participants in a rapid interchange, attributed to Dr. Pope part of my speech, and left the interruption anonymous.

[9] It is noteworthy that Fr. Pope made no attempt to meet this, nor showed the least interest in the original Greek, which now lay on the table a few feet from him. He evidently depended altogether on the spurious Latin interpretation.

[10] Here are Hefele's words, even after he had capitulated and accepted the Vatican Decree (*History of Councils*, 2nd edition, English translation, Volume V, p. 61), "On the question: Whether the two letters of Honorius were put forth *ex cathedra*, as it is called, or not, the views among his defenders are very different. Pennacchi maintains that they were put forth *auctoritate apostolica* (l.c., p. 169 sqq.), whilst Schneemann (l.c., S6. 3) holds the opposite opinion. For my own part, I confess myself here on the side of Pennacchi, since Honorius intended to give first to the Church at Constantinople, and *implicite* to the whole Church, an instruction on doctrine and faith; and in his second letter he even uses the expression *Ceterum, quantum ad Dogma Ecclesiasticum pertinet, . . . non unam vel duas operationes in mediatore Dei et hominum definire debemus.*"

To meet the obvious difficulties involved in this admission that the Decree was *ex cathedra*—an admission which is also made by Penacchi, a scholar who was orthodox of the orthodox, having supported Infallibility even before the Vatican Decree—Hefele explains that, though Honorius's *written words* were heretical, he was all the while *thinking* in the orthodox sense! It would be difficult to frame any hypothesis which should more fatally deprive the solemn pronouncements of a Pope, even *ex cathedra*, of all real significance. On that theory, Pius IX may have thought correctly that the B. V. M. was not conceived without sin, even while he unfortunately expressed himself so incorrectly as to make the world believe in the Immaculate Conception; the Decree might therefore be reversed by some future Pope, who should not only think correctly but also define correctly.

[11] Duggan, *Steps towards Reunion*, 1897. The book was put on the Index; the author withdrew it from circulation, but never retracted

any of the assertions contained in it. He was a hard-working parish priest, who died a few years later in the odour of sanctity. The book is almost unprocurable now, since the holocaust which followed upon its condemnation. He writes on p. 196:—"Unreality is greatest, however, in the unanimity of Catholic public opinion on practical questions. For we always appear to be unanimous, but very often we are not. I will give three instances, all connected with education, the great question of our time. A few years ago it was thought that all Catholics held that in Board schools there was no good, that existing universities were dangerous, that every diocese should have a separate seminary for diocesan students. Cardinal Manning held these opinions; no Catholic spoke against them, many spoke in favour of them. Among ourselves it was known that many held opposite opinions. But the general public thought that Cardinal Manning expressed the thoughts of all Catholics. We were supposed to be unanimous, but we were far from it. This was seen immediately after the death of the late Cardinal. His successor's first act was to sell the diocesan seminary (built by Cardinal Manning) amid general approval, for it was known that the expense of the seminary was ruinous, and that the education was not good. Next, hundreds of laymen petitioned for permission to send their sons to the universities, and the petition was granted at once. The question of elementary education is not yet settled, but our hostility to Board schools is not so pronounced as it used to be. What was it that made Catholics support Cardinal Manning on these points? It was not that they agreed with him, as events show. It was that they thought it right to appear to agree with him. They wanted no scandal or division of opinion in the Church. That is what we call loyalty to authority. But does it deserve to be called loyalty? Or does it deserve to be called flattery and servility? This is a vital question, and I must say plainly what I think. I call it loyalty to agree with the authorities on abstract questions, for divisions of opinion on abstract questions are always scandals, and never do any good. It is loyalty also to agree with the authorities on practical questions, when you think that perhaps they are right. But it is not loyalty to agree with them when you know that they are wrong on a practical question. Many thousands of pounds, and many years of progress, have been lost through shutting out the light of public opinion on practical questions among Catholics. This is evident in the cases I have mentioned. For it is publicly known that some £20,000 were lost in the Hammersmith Seminary, and we are making the beginning in the universities now that might have been made twenty years ago."

It is obvious that these words have special significance at this moment, when the Romanists are pressing for State aid to their denominational schools, and boast that 70 M.P's. being dependent upon the Romanist vote, can be brought to heel (*Universe*, Jan. 10, 1930).

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